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**ART. I.—REVIEW OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE REV.
ANDREW FULLER.** *Parsons.*

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Kettering, and Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. By J. W. MORRIS. New Edition corrected and enlarged. London. 1826.

The Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller in eight volumes 8vo. Philadelphia, 1820, and New-Haven, 1824.

DURING the latter part of the last century, the churches in England were in constant agitation. The country, engaged in war with different continental powers, was threatened with a foreign invasion, and trembled through fear of a political convulsion within her own bosom. The continent, also, exhibited a scene of civil discord, of popular frenzy, and of infidel triumph. In France, the powers of darkness seemed to be let loose, for a time, with permission to tear up the foundations of government and religion. Germany had, for a long period, been sending out, in different directions, a tide of Unitarianism and infidelity. In Holland and Switzerland, the warm piety of the early churches was exchanged for universal coldness and conformity to the world. In England, the established church, once so distinguished for the purity of its faith, had settled down into the grossest Arminianism; while the dissenting churches were tinctured to a great extent with the Antinomian heresies. At this period, the great English champion of Socinianism, broached his doctrines, so strongly impregnated with infidelity, and at the same time so palatable to the great mass of irreligious men, who wish to be removed as much as possible from the power of godliness, while they retain something of its outward form. Akin to these principles and springing from them, the doctrines of universalism were next thrown out; and as every thing in its downward tendency proceeds with increasing force, the state of religious sentiment and of morals soon became such, as to encourage an open attack upon christianity itself.

The exigencies of the church at such a time, demanded pe-
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culiar men, men of strength and courage, skilled in the use of spiritual weapons, and fitted to endure every kind of fatigue and hardship. Such men were provided; and God taught his trembling people to feel, that the ark was in no danger. There is in religion an elastic quality, by which, after it has sustained a temporary pressure, it rises to its former dignity, and appears in new beauty and splendor. Such was the case after the war of extermination, waged against it by infidels in England; and the christian church has occasion for gratitude to God, that he brought to her aid, in the hour of her need, so illustrious an assemblage of talent, learning, and piety. Among those who stood foremost in these contests between light and darkness, was Andrew Fuller; a man endowed by nature with a capacious, original, and active mind, and fitted for bold and hazardous enterprises. We propose to give a brief sketch of his character and labors, and of the state of polemical theology in Great Britain during his ministry; and in doing it, we shall avail ourselves of the Memoirs and Works before us. Between these memoirs and those published by Dr. Ryland we shall make no invidious comparison. The author professes to have enjoyed a greater intimacy with Mr. Fuller, than any other person; and though the work is modest in its literary pretensions, and rather unskillfully put together, it seems to be a faithful record of facts, and to present a full length portrait of its distinguished subject.

Mr. Fuller was born Feb. 6, 1754, and, like many others who have become conspicuous for their talents and usefulness, arose from indigence and obscurity. Till the age of twenty he pursued the business of agriculture. During his sixteenth year, though he had previously been the sport of many delusions in respect to religion, he was the subject of deep, serious impressions, which resulted in a radical change of views and feelings, and established his character for that of a truly pious man. He united with the Baptist church at Soham in Cambridgeshire, where he was then residing. With comparatively no advantages for mental culture, and yet an ardent desire for religious knowledge, he set himself closely to the study of the bible, and soon began to exercise his talents in the way of public exhortation, with so much success, that at the age of twenty one years he received and accepted a call to perform the regular duties of a minister, and to take the pastoral charge of the Baptist church at Soham. He was ordained May 3d, 1775.

Soon after this, he was led to examine the merits of an existing controversy on the question, 'whether impenitent sinners could properly be called upon to repent and believe the gospel.' In the course of his examination of this subject, he was induced to read Edwards on the Will, and this operated as a severe, though needed mental discipline. It taught him to think and write with logical

precision; patiently to investigate a subject till he could see the relative bearing of its several parts; and in fact, laid the foundation of his future eminence as a theological and controversial writer. The effect, which the perusal of this masterly treatise produced on his mind, is visible, we think, in most of his subsequent writings. It produced an immediate change in many respects as to his views of divine truth, and the manner and topics of his preaching; and this change was the occasion of his first treatise, published in 1781, entitled, "The Gospel worthy of all acceptation." Of this, the design was to show, that the gospel contained a complete warrant, supported abundantly by scripture precept and example, to extend addresses and invitations to the impenitent and ungodly, in order to induce them to flee from the wrath to come, believe in Christ and be saved.

In 1776 Mr. F. married a Miss Gardiner, a member of his own church, and by her he had a numerous family, most of whom died in infancy.

Distressed by pecuniary embarrassments, and almost overcome by his trials and labors at Soham, he was induced in Oct. 1782, after repeated invitations, to remove and take the pastoral charge of a church at Kettering, where his talents had for a considerable time been held in the highest estimation. It was his happiness to become early acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Hall of Arnsbury, father of the celebrated Robert Hall, who was an able, judicious, and evangelical minister, and proved a wise counselor and firm friend of Mr. Fuller, to the end of his life. Through his influence especially, Mr. F. was induced to change the scene of his labors; though this step was preceded by a great conflict in his own mind, frequent consultations with neighboring ministers, and much prayer to God for direction.

His removal to Kettering formed an important era in his life. Favored with the friendship and frequent intercourse of many valuable and devoted ministers, such as Hall, Ryland, Sutcliffe, Pearce, and Carey, whose spirit and pursuits were congenial with his own, he greatly enlarged the sphere of his labors, and gave scope and expansion to the energies of his mind.

In 1784, Mr. Fuller and a few others agreed to devote the second Tuesday of every other month to special fasting and prayer for a general revival of religion; and this was soon followed by an agreement made at a minister's meeting, at Nottingham the same year, to spend the first Monday evening of each month in prayer for the extension and triumph of religion throughout the world. This was the origin of *the Monthly Concert for Prayer*, which is now extensively observed in every part of Christendom. In the breasts of these few servants of Christ was kindled up a flame of christian love and zeal, which, continuing to burn, has since diffu-

sed light and heat to many and distant parts of the world. They imbibed deeply the spirit of their divine Master, and set a noble example to their brethren of all denominations; an example which gave a direction and impulse to many of the benevolent enterprises, for which Great Britain has since been distinguished.

Mr. Fuller's ministerial labors were attended with encouraging success at Kettering, and he was also actively engaged with his pen. But like all the children of God in this world, he was tried by a series of difficulties; and these produced an important and salutary effect upon his character, softened the natural roughness of his disposition, and taught him to feel for others. His children were successively taken away by death, and in 1792, he was bereft of an amiable wife. To sooth his mind under this last agonizing stroke, and to prevent himself from becoming absorbed in his own misfortunes, he applied to writing with increased diligence, and soon produced his "Dialogues and Letters," and his "Calvinistic and Socinian Systems compared as to their moral tendency." This intense mental absorption, in connection with his family afflictions, induced an alarming paralytic affection in his face and head; but, from this he happily recovered in a few months.

In Dec. 1794, he married a Miss Coles, the daughter of a Baptist minister in Bedfordshire. By her he had six children, of whom two only survive him. Mrs. Fuller, having outlived him ten years, and given to the world a new and complete edition of his works, died in 1825.

On the 2d. of Oct. 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society was formed at Kettering, and Mr. Fuller was appointed its secretary. He found here ample scope for the exercise of his talents, and a field of labor and enterprise commensurate with his most ardent desires. To the end of life he discharged the duties of this office with great ability, zeal, and success; and such was his devotedness and untiring assiduity, that it may be truly said, he died a martyr to the cause of missions.

We revert to this period with peculiar pleasure, for it constituted a new era in the church of Christ. A fountain was then opened, from which streams of salvation have since flowed to every part of the world. Though that was a period signally marked in many parts of Europe by divine judgments, yet the windows of heaven were opened to let down divine influence upon the churches of England and America; and the Baptist Missionary Society constituted a kind of seminal principle, which has given birth to most of those mighty benevolent projects now in operation, to christianize the world, and meliorate, in the highest degree, the condition of man. The wheels of christian enterprise and liberality were then set in motion, and from that time to the present, they have rolled on with accelerated force. Of modern missions our Baptist brethren

were the spirited pioneers ; and this, wherever the gospel is preached, shall be told for a memorial of them. At the time of Mr. Fuller's death it was said, that "twenty missionary stations were formed in various parts of India, in the course of as many years ; some of them more than three thousand miles apart ; upwards of forty missionaries, Europeans and natives, are constantly employed ; more than five hundred persons of different nations have been baptized, and formed into distinct churches ; the scriptures are translated and printed in more than thirty of the oriental languages, and are circulating, in connection with the itinerant labors of the missionaries, amongst an immense population, and over an extent of country equal to that of the whole of Europe." p. 94.

The origin of this mission may be traced distinctly to Fuller, though Carey had a prominent hand in bringing it to life and giving it motion. The Society having been formed, many of the brethren set themselves to collect information and make inquiries respecting a projected mission to India ; and while they were musing, the fire burned. In contemplating the subject, the soul of the heavenly-minded Pearce of Birmingham glowed with unwonted fervor. Carey offered himself as a missionary and was accepted ; and about this time they, as by accident, became acquainted with Mr. J. Thomas, formerly a surgeon in London, who had spent several years in Bengal, and occasionally preached to the natives. Being zealous in the cause of missions, he communicated much valuable information, and offered himself as a coadjutor to Carey.

"From Mr. Thomas' account," said Fuller, "we saw there was a gold mine in India, but it seemed almost as deep as the centre of the earth. Who will venture to explore it? 'I will venture to go down,' said Carey to his brethren ; 'but remember that *you must hold the ropes.*' We solemnly engaged to do so, nor while we live shall we desert him." p. 105. This was a noble resolution, highly characteristic of him who expressed it. We too, let it be remembered in respect to our own missionaries, have "solemnly engaged to hold the ropes."

These missionaries sailed for India, June 13, 1793. From this period, Fuller became the soul of the society, and the lever by which all its movements were directed. His mind began to exhibit a wider expansion, and his spirituality and devotedness were more conspicuous than ever. He traveled in successive years and preached in all parts of the kingdom to obtain funds, and was successful beyond his most sanguine expectations, having received large contributions from other denominations, besides his own. The interests of this society he bore continually on his heart. He superintended all its concerns ; conducted the correspondence ; prepared and circulated intelligence respecting the mission, and presented its claims before the public in every variety of form. In

short, the history of his life, for twenty three years, was so identified with that of the mission, that most of its transactions must be referred to his agency.

But let us revert to some of his concomitant labors. Such was his pastoral success and influence at Kettering, that in 1795, the other Baptist church there, under the care of Rev. Mr. Satchel, the amiable author of "Thornton Abbey," was by their own request incorporated with Mr. Fuller's church; and the union was productive of the happiest effects.

Having acquired much celebrity as an author, he was complimented with the title of D. D. from the College at Princeton, N. J. but this honor he declined; saying he had no pretensions to classical learning, and furthermore deemed the acceptance and acknowledgment of such titles incompatible with the character of a gospel minister.

Though the work of the ministry was his delight, yet he exhibited the most untiring industry in writing for the press. During one week, after a long sickness, and while still confined to his house, "he wrote," says his biographer, "three essays for the magazines, despatched twenty letters by the post, and prepared about fifty other pages for the press." This mental labor and activity had become habitual; whenever he did any thing, he was *totus in illis*; his faculties were continually on the stretch.

Besides witnessing a very extensive revival of religion in his own congregation, he had the happiness to see the cause of religion, wherever he had any connection with it, generally prosperous. His labors for the purity and edification of the churches, were various and extensive. In whatever related to their welfare at home, or to the cause of religion abroad, his counsel and assistance were sought. The influence of his writings was felt and acknowledged both by clergymen* and ministers throughout Great Britain, and their voice respecting them was re-echoed from India and America. In his own denomination particularly, his influence did much to diffuse correct and definite views of divine truth, to inspire boldness and energy in preaching, and to kindle up and keep alive a holy flame of missionary zeal. As a writer on doctrinal and controversial subjects, he surpassed, probably, in ability and success, every one that has appeared in the Baptist denomination. Enjoying for many years a very indifferent state of health, he was eventually seized with a pulmonary affection, which frequently interrupted his labors; and during a few of his last years he suffered

* *Clergymen and ministers*; we use these words in their English sense; the former to denote ministers of the established church, the latter, dissenters.

much from a severe affection of the liver. His strength being overpowered by his industry and mental application, he was obliged occasionally to suspend his labors, and take time to recruit the vigor and elasticity of his system. In 1814, he was observed to be much emaciated, and though ardent in whatever he undertook, he was less powerful than formerly in his public addresses. In August of that year, he went to Leicester to assist in the ordination of Mr. Yates as missionary to India; and his addresses and prayers on that occasion, were like those of one standing on the borders of the grave. The death of many valuable and endeared friends in connection with his own growing infirmities, had greatly weakened his hold upon life, and familiarized to his contemplation the scenes and retributions of eternity. In December, he went to London and preached there for the last time; it was for the benefit of the "British and Foreign School Society," for which he put forth one of his mightiest efforts; in consequence of which he well nigh sunk to rise no more. Having partially recovered from that shock, he continued to struggle with disease, enjoying however, great inward peace and consolation, till May 7th, 1815, when at the age of sixty-one, he took his flight to another world, where we trust he was greeted with "well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

On the following day his funeral was attended by a great concourse of people from that and the adjacent towns, and all seemed to vie with each other in extolling his worth, and doing honor to his memory. Dr. Ryland preached the funeral sermon, and Robert Hall pronounced his eulogy. Six ministers of the different denominations in Kettering bore his pall; and the account of the deep, unaffected and general mourning among the people of the place, reminds us of that occasioned by the death of Jacob in Egypt, and of Moses as described by Josephus.

In person, Mr. Fuller was above the common size, stout and athletic, and possessed of great natural and moral courage. There was naturally a tinge of melancholy in his character, which made him distrustful of others; and exhibiting as he generally did, an appearance of roughness and severity, and something of an imperative and overbearing manner, the first impression which he made on the minds of others was unpleasant and even repulsive. Had not much been done by grace to soften his character and wear away its offensive peculiarities, it would have been unamiable in a high degree; but these defects were counterbalanced by a rare assemblage of the most shining virtues. It is to be remembered, that, deprived of the advantages of a public education, almost wholly unacquainted with books, unpolished and clumsy in his manners, he came from the plough to the pulpit; and that, though aided perhaps by a fortunate concurrence of circum-

stances, he reached and occupied a sphere of great honor and eminent usefulness, principally by his own original, powerful, and well directed efforts. He was emphatically a self-made man. If he exhibited the roughness of the oak, he possessed also its strength and inflexibility.

His want of mildness and affability, of moderation and forbearance, was compensated by his boldness and decision of character, his pre-eminent talents, his untiring zeal, and his uncompromising integrity. He was kind and condescending in his family, simple and abstemious in his mode of living, and always arranged his business with a scrupulous regard to order.

As his reading was quite limited, confined to a comparatively small range of subjects, his knowledge was less various than profound. The materials for many of his works were supplied principally by observation and reflection. In the pulpit, his exhibitions of strong sense, profound thought, and deep concern for their welfare, riveted the attention of his hearers; and they seldom failed to be highly edified by his discourses. Though deficient in the graces of elocution, he possessed in an eminent degree a much more valuable quality; he was

"Much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he fed
Might feel it too."

Their spiritual interests lay near his heart; for them he anxiously prayed and labored, and not for them only, but for a world lying in wickedness. In his preaching, Christ crucified was his prominent, darling theme.

In reading the Memoirs of Fuller, we have more than once been reminded of Dr. Scott. In respect to their original traits of character, their preparation for, and early labors in the ministry, their straightforward energy, their missionary zeal, their controversial labors, and their aim as preachers, they bore a strong resemblance to each other. But in acuteness and penetration of mind, force of reasoning, copiousness of illustration, and fertility of genius, Fuller was far superior to Scott.

Perhaps it may be expected, that we should say something of Mr. Fuller's sentiments as a Baptist; but though fully convinced of the divine authority and the importance of infant baptism, we regard external rites and ceremonies, as of little importance, when compared with those momentous truths which relate to the salvation of the soul. The biography and works of Mr. Fuller are the common property of the christian world, and in view of his character and labors we lose sight of the peculiarities of a sect. For all devoted laborers in the Lord's vineyard, by whatever name they

are distinguished, we feel a sincere and fraternal affection, and would bid them, "God speed," in their efforts for the redemption of the world. Our sentiments on this subject are well expressed by Fuller himself, in one of his essays, "by rejoicing in the prosperity of every other denomination, in as far as they accord with the mind of Christ, we shall promote the best interests of our own."

Mr. Fuller's writings, which are now collected and published entire, embrace a great variety of valuable treatises on doctrinal, practical, and experimental religion; freed in a great measure from the technical language of the schools, and bearing directly and forcibly upon the great interests of man as a rational, social, and immortal being. Without implying that we would subscribe indiscriminately and without qualification, to all the sentiments advanced in his works, we think him generally correct on doctrinal subjects, and deserving a place among the most distinguished metaphysical divines. In all his compositions, even the earliest, 'the bones of a giant may be seen.' His style is clear, concise, idiomatic, and unincumbered with useless phraseology. In reading his doctrinal or metaphysical writings, no person can fail to apprehend his meaning. His object is stated clearly, and though in illustrating it, he often exhibits an amazing reach of mind, yet in the end he brings the scattered rays of light from every quarter, and concentrates them into a focus, where the object brightens and glows with unwonted illumination.

It is a remarkable fact, however, as stated by his biographer, that "no man's religious sentiments were more constantly liable to misrepresentation than Mr. Fuller's, though scarcely any one had the faculty of rendering them more intelligible, or of placing them in a stronger light." "Every book I write," says Mr. Fuller himself, in a desponding tone to one of his correspondents, "only occasions me to write others, to explain or defend it." His reasonings were condemned as being "too fine" to be intelligible. "Away with your niceties and particularities!" exclaimed one of his opponents, who found it more convenient to raise an outcry against "philosophy," "innovation," "metaphysics," &c. &c. than fairly to meet an argument. So great was the effect produced by these charges, that "one of the churches in his own neighborhood refused for seven years to hold communion with him, or to allow any of their members to have fellowship with his church." p. 218. Nor were these unfounded prejudices confined to persons of a weak or undisciplined intellect. The Rev. Mr. Mclean charged his opinions with a "tendency to subvert the great doctrine of justification by grace alone." Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh objected to one of his treatises, that it seemed to "detract from the glory of the Redeemer's mediation," and to be "inconsistent with our being directed to pray in the name of Christ." Mr. Booth, then the

father of the Baptist denomination, carried his opposition to such a length, as not only to preach and write publicly against Mr. Fuller, in the most pointed manner, but even to decline, at last, any intercourse with him by letters.* His "Gospel worthy of all acceptance," led multitudes to accuse him of having become an Arminian; and his controversy with the Socinians and Deists induced others as perversely to declare, that he had given up the doctrine of the atonement and of endless punishment.

These injurious and unfounded charges seem to have resulted chiefly from two causes. Mr. Fuller adopted, in several important particulars, modes of stating and defending the doctrines of grace, which were new to the English Calvinists. He was a disciple of Edwards, and introduced into all his reasonings not only the leading theological principles, but the accuracy of discrimination and depth of inquiry, which were so admirably exhibited by that illustrious writer. Man, he maintained, is a free agent, equally qualified to do right or to do wrong; bound to embrace the gospel and enter upon a holy life in the exercise of his own inherent powers without the aids of the Spirit, and prevented from doing it by no other inability, than a perverse and rebellious will, which constitutes all his sin. The atonement of Christ he represented, not as the payment of a debt, or a *literal* satisfaction to divine justice, but as a great provision under the moral government of God, designed to vindicate his character and support the authority of his law, while a way of pardon is opened for every individual of our race. Such representations were directly opposed to all the technical phraseology and modes of statement in use among the English Calvinists. By multitudes, they were regarded therefore with a natural and instinctive jealousy. It seemed like an abandonment of the whole system of grace, to adopt the New-England principle, that men are able to do their duty, and that Christ died alike for all.

A second source of these misapprehensions and false accusations, was the common error of drawing inferences from one man's statements, on the principles of another man's philosophy. The outcry was every where raised, "The *consequences*, the fatal consequences of these new opinions!" "Their direct and necessary *tendency* is, to the worst forms of Pelagianism, Universalism, or Infidelity!" "The book must be answered," was the general cry, when "the Gospel worthy of all acceptance" was published, "or Calvinism will be ruined." p. 218. And all this would have been

* Mr. Booth wrote, however, to Dr. Ryland on the subjects in debate, and through him received statements of Mr. Fuller's views. The substance of this correspondence was afterwards given to the public by Mr. Fuller in a "Dialogue between Peter, James and John," in which the opinions of the three gentlemen are impartially stated.

perfectly true, if Mr. Fuller had made his statements with the same views of moral agency and the divine government, as were held by those who thus loudly condemned him. Assuming that he had done so, his opponents insisted that although he had not dared to deny in form any of the doctrines of grace, he must mean what implied a rejection of them. "To suppose that I *must* mean this, is to suppose that I *must* grant you the very point in debate," (viz. the correctness of your philosophy,) was the laconic answer of Fuller.

Under such attacks it was natural that he should feel keenly. But his spirit was bold and invincible. "He appeared most in his element when surrounded by difficulties, and exposed to the attack of numerous opponents." It was a principle with him never to weaken his argument for the sake of sparing the feelings of those who assailed him, and at times undoubtedly, he was not fully aware of the severity with which he put down his opponents.

Once at a minister's meeting he took occasion to correct an erroneous opinion, delivered by an injudicious brother; and he laid on his censures so heavily, that Dr. Ryland called out vehemently, in his own peculiar tone of voice, brother Fuller, brother Fuller! You can never admonish a mistaken friend, but you must take up a sledge-hammer and knock his brains out! * * * * * He ventured one day to mention the subject of his supposed severity in a company of ministers by way of appeal. One of them replied, "Why, sir, you do not appear likely to make war without some just occasion; but it is pretty evident (pointing to his eyebrows) that you keep up a formidable peace establishment." The company of course enjoyed the pleasantry of this remark, till another of them perceiving the effect it was likely to produce, added, "We had better stop, or we shall be in danger of putting brother Fuller's troops into motion."

On one occasion, a young minister who had heard that Mr. Fuller denied certain fundamental doctrines, went down into Scotland and spread the report. On his return, being interrogated on the subject, he defended himself by saying, that "he only inquired whether it was true," and should be sorry if Mr. Fuller's feelings were wounded. "In the following extract from the reply," says the biographer, "it will be seen what Mr. F. thought of such inuendos, and of the distinction pleaded in their defense."

I cannot find time, to contradict every idle tale, nor have I any inclination to do so. By letting it take its course, I shall be better able to distinguish friends from enemies. If a friend hears it, and fears lest there should be some truth in it; he will write me a line, and I shall give him satisfaction. If an enemy hears it, he will report it, and let him report it. * * * But you only "inquired," it seems. Ask an English tradesman who has connections in Scotland, what he would think of a brother tradesman, who, having heard that he was certainly on the point of stopping payment, should go immediately to Edinburgh and Aberdeen among his creditors, and inquire into the truth of the report! The suspected

party might have it in its power to prevent such a report doing him any injury, and so might not think it worth his while to prosecute the libeller; *but what would he think of him?*

I have no wish to bear hard upon a young minister; but if you think my good opinion of any account; or let that be as it may, if you wish for peace in your own mind, there is but one course open to you; and that is, without any farther attempts to apologize for what will admit of no apology, frankly to acknowledge that you have done that to a brother, which you would not be willing he should do to you, and that therefore you are sorry for it. This would be to your honor, and would raise you much in my esteem. p. 55, 56.

The first controversy of importance, in which Mr. F. was engaged, though involving many other things essential to religion, related principally to the subject of faith.

It may be proper to premise, that, at this time, the Baptist denomination generally were labouring under the paralyzing influence of such writers as Hussey, Gill, and Brine, whose peculiar sentiments were adopted, and whose works were held in such estimation, as to be in a great measure substituted for the Bible. These men, though they advocated in the main the doctrines of grace; yet stretched and distorted them in such a manner, that they operated like an incubus upon the interests of vital religion. Their preaching consisted of a mystical exhibition of a few peculiar doctrines, and a description of the privileges of those, who thought themselves of the number of the elect. Viewing unregenerate men as released from obligation to perform what they called spiritual duties, in consequence of moral inability, they pretended to have no warrant to extend calls and invitations to such, or to urge them to repent and believe the gospel. Unbelievers, they maintained, must never be addressed, or invited to believe in Christ, till they are regenerated; and to effect their regeneration, no means must be used either by themselves or others. If moral in their general deportment, and respectful to the forms and institutions of religion, they were not to be charged with being deficient in duty. As to the character of professed christians, Mr. Fuller once remarked, "When I first published my treatise on the nature of faith, and the duty of all men who hear the gospel to believe it, the christian profession had sunk into contempt amongst us; insomuch that had matters gone on but a few years longer, *the baptists would have become a perfect dunghill in society.*"

This treatise, as we have already stated, was regarded with general suspicion, and immediately excited a violent opposition among the Hyper-Calvinists, who at that time, were by far the most numerous party among the Baptists. Of these many had, on the score of talents or literary attainments, no claims to attention; yet they felt ambitious of raising themselves into notice by connecting their names with Andrew Fuller. But he had measured his wea-

pon and taken his ground ; and it might be truly said, that one such man could "chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

That part of his treatise, which discusses the nature of saving faith and men's obligations, was immediately attacked by the Rev. W. Button. Having written what he supposed a refutation of Mr. Fuller's sentiments generally, and reduced the gospel system down to the feelings and inclinations of the unregenerate, showing that command does not imply duty, and that moral ability is the ground and measure of obligation, he gave place to the Rev. D. Taylor. This gentleman, being an Arminian, and thinking he could see a leaning to Arminianism in Mr. Fuller, engaged in the controversy, in hopes of drawing him over to his side. He was followed by the Rev. J. Martin, and successively by a host of other Hyper-Calvinists, who attacked Mr. F. with great virulence. Mr. Fuller answered his opponents in so masterly and convincing a manner, and supported his own positions so demonstrably by the scriptures, that they were finally all driven from the field. This controversy, among other happy results, effected a great revolution in the sentiments of the Baptist denomination and in those of other churches ; rendered preaching more evangelical, and pungent ; excited a discriminating attention to doctrinal truth and a greater relish for practical religion. Pursuing the course so clearly pointed out by Mr. Fuller, the churches have since been enlarged and beautified ; and to him more than to any other man, the Baptist denomination in England owe their present flourishing condition.

Mr. Fuller next entered the lists as the opponent of Unitarianism, which had long been exerting a deadly influence in England. It consisted chiefly of a string of negatives or doubts on almost every point of religion ; or, as Mr. Hume would say, it was a "doubtful solution of doubtful doubts." The peculiar doctrines of the gospel were at first covertly attacked, and many, ere they were aware, found themselves drawn away from the faith once delivered to the saints. But an alteration in the statutes touching dissenters having imparted confidence to the Socinians, they suddenly threw off their disguise, and though claiming to be the only intelligent and liberal christians, they called in question the truth of most of the received doctrines of the gospel. Dr. Priestley, their leader, rejecting first the divinity and atonement of Christ, proceeded to set aside, one after another, all the fundamental principles of the reformation, till in his view, Christ was no more than a mere peccable man, the apostles were mistaken in their views and reasonings, and the scriptures were entitled to no more authority, and were no more a decisive standard of truth and error than other writings. Bishop Horsey attacked the champion of Socinianism with the strength of a giant, exposed to merited contempt his pretensions to an acquaintance with the Fathers, and triumphantly refuted his argument from history. Priestley was

ere long generally regarded as a secret but virulent enemy of christianity. In the course of his philippics against Calvinism, he had charged upon it an immoral tendency. This called forth from Mr. Fuller his celebrated work entitled, "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems examined and compared as to their Moral Tendency." This was one of the most valuable of Mr. Fuller's performances, and has produced very extensive and happy effects. The argument, being level to common apprehension and observation, and supported very much by undeniable matters of fact, is conducted with great perspicuity and fairness; and the positions are established by such an equitable and extended comparison of the two systems, both as to the effects which might naturally be expected from them, and which they actually produce on the great body of the people who embrace each system, that Socinianins have never been able fairly to meet it. Dr. Toulmin and Mr. Kentish did, indeed, both write something against the work, but attempted no answer to it. Mr. Fuller replied to them, and considerably augmented his former proofs, in a work entitled "Socinianism Indefensible, on the ground of its moral tendency." This wound up the controversy, and gave to the orthodox a most honorable and triumphant possession of the field. Unitarianism in England is now, according to the best testimony, in a declining state, and we are persuaded that its interests, plans, and movements, will soon be identified with those of open infidelity.

The next controversy which enlisted the services of Mr. Fuller, was with Universalists. Mr. Winchester, a dissenting minister in London, ventured to broach some new and strange doctrines respecting the universal restoration of the wicked to life and holiness; and possessing somewhat popular talents, produced for a time, considerable excitement. His system was this; that though a large part of mankind may *die* in impenitence and unbelief, yet all will eventually be admitted to heaven and made happy. A place of punishment is prepared for the wicked after death, where they will suffer for the sins committed in this life, be taught the truths of christianity, and subdued to the obedience of the cross; the evils and punishments suffered there will be similar to those suffered here, only more severe and efficacious; so that at some future period, or in some state of trial into which they may be brought, they will be made penitent, be pardoned, renewed, and restored to the favor of God, and to complete happiness. Then, and not till then, shall Christ, having put all enemies under his feet, deliver up his mediatorial kingdom to the Father, and God shall be all in all.

This scheme, to say the least, is as repugnant to reason as to scripture. To suppose a probation after death, where the wicked will be put under a discipline consisting in punishment and suffering; and that, removed as they necessarily must be, from the ex-

ample, restraint, counsel, influence, and exhortations of good men, and from the word and ordinances of God,—a temporary suffering, somewhat more severe than is experienced in this world, will change their character and fit them for heaven, is perfectly ridiculous. The rebel angels have, for thousands of years, been under this discipline, and have any of them yet been reclaimed? Will a wicked man, put into a state of suffering, become more calm, devotional, and happy, as his sufferings are increased? Far otherwise. And yet in this scheme, the unreflecting, irreligious part of the community, see much plausibility. They risk their souls upon it, and are lost forever.

Mr. Winchester was supported in his opinions by Mr. Vidler, who had once been a Baptist minister; and Mr. Fuller felt anxious to arrest him in his progress. Having for some time carried on a controversy with him in the Universalist's Miscellany, Mr. Fuller at length published a series of letters, addressed to Mr. Vidler, on the doctrine of universal salvation, which had a wide circulation, and did much to check the progress of this pernicious and licentious doctrine. Of the various arguments usually adduced against Universalists, these letters are a luminous compend; they expose the pretensions, the sophistry, and the anti-christian efforts of Mr. V. and other Universalists, and show, to a moral demonstration, that for their doctrines the scriptures afford not the shadow of a support.

The Deists in England, encouraged at this period, by the general apathy and supineness of christians, and aided by some popular writings from abroad, were eager to propagate their doctrines, and to level their shafts against christianity. Against these attacks Mr. Fuller directed his treatise entitled, "The Gospel its own witness, etc." in which he reviews the lives and labors of deists, examines their principles as contrasted with the doctrines of christianity, and brings them to the test of their moral tendency. The internal evidence of christianity he sets in a luminous point of view, and discusses many of its fundamental doctrines. The pretensions and effects of deism he also sifts and exposes; illustrates its destructive influence upon civilized society, and shows that its chief supporters have not only been grossly immoral in their lives, but have countenanced the worst of vices in others. In none of his works did Mr. Fuller evince greater ability or more abundant resources, than in this; and we think that a frequent reprint of this volume will essentially subserve the cause of truth.

In respect to the deistical controversy in England, which was carried on with great perseverance, and finally brought to a termination the most auspicious to the cause of truth, one thing is certain, that if deism could not be supported by such advocates as Bolingbroke, Gibbon, and Hume, it must irrecoverably fall; for they

were confessedly among the most powerful, that have ever appeared in any cause. But christianity has nothing to fear. It stands on a rock, against which the waves and storms have been beating for ages, without producing any impression. Deism may be considered as given up, so far as argument is concerned; it may make some movements in the dark, and enlist on its side the prejudices and passions of the baser sort, but it is destined to utter destruction.

At the present time, indeed, desperate efforts are made by the enemies of christianity in our country, to oppose the progress of religion, and destroy its institutions. But could they effect their object, and exterminate christianity among us—what would they gain? Could they introduce a better religion, one more adapted to animate our hopes and restrain our passions, to supply an antidote to our miseries, and promote universal happiness in this life and that to come, they might not only claim our attention, but demand our co-operation.

It is reasonable to require, that, if they take away our present religion, they should substitute something better in its stead. It is a well-known fact, that every nation yet discovered, has had its religion of some kind, with its ministers, rites, and ceremonies; and it was the opinion of ancient legislators, that without some religion, human society could not exist. What then may we rationally expect in exchange for that religion, which gives us clear ideas of the perfections and government of God; reveals a future state of rewards and punishments, and a way in which a condemned, polluted sinner may be pardoned, purified and saved; which has in a great measure abolished from the earth the system of slavery under which it formerly groaned; disenthralled the female sex, and elevated them to an equality with the other; cemented the bonds of marriage and made provision for the maintenance and education of children; mitigated the rigors of despotism, the horrors of war, and the severity of punishment; humanized the manners of men and shed an illumination over all classes of society; which has administered a cordial to the fainting, a soothing antidote to the sorrowful, and been an angel of mercy to the dying? In destroying the bible and its institutions, the infidel would take from mankind their sense of the deformity and turpitude of vice, their greatest incentives to virtue, their hope of a resurrection, their support and consolation in a dying hour, all indeed that is dignified, amiable or valuable in man, and open upon society the flood-gates of iniquity. By renouncing all considerations of a future state of rewards and punishments, they would annihilate the sacred obligations of an oath, and shake the firmest foundations of civil government; by trampling on the cross and rejecting a Savior, they would tear from the trembling sinner, his last solace, his only hope; by destroying all

fear of an invisible Almighty avenger, they would embolden the robber and assassin, strengthen the arm of the oppressor, and hazard all the rights, privileges, and interests of society. These are a few of the direct consequences that would result from the reign of infidelity. And is it possible that men have so much enmity to the truth, and so much malevolence towards one another, that they can intelligently array themselves in opposition to christianity? Do they ever look forward and contemplate the change, that infidelity would effect in human society? In what respect would the world be benefited, in case the bible and its institutions were banished forever? There can be no question, that, setting aside the divine origin of christianity and all considerations of a future state, it is calculated most directly and certainly to promote man's highest interests in this world; and that the practice of its precepts carries with it a most munificent reward.

We return once more to Mr. Fuller. Scarcely had he finished his work against deists, when the whole plan and operations of the missions in India were violently attacked, and the ears of the British government were filled with clamors and forebodings respecting the fate of their eastern empire, in case the christian religion should be suffered to prevail there.

First appeared a Mr. Twining, who addressed a letter to the East India Company, protesting against "interfering in the religious opinions of the natives of India; and deprecating the consequences, which might arise from such an attempt." Next came Major Scott Waring, who laid a plan before the Company and the legislature, which, after proposing to secure and perpetuate to the natives "their religion, laws, and local customs," recommended, "the immediate recall of every English missionary, and a prohibition to all persons dependent on the Company, from giving assistance to the translation or circulation of the holy scriptures." This pamphlet was followed by a number of others from the same author, all in a most intemperate style, filled with invective, and evincing the deep enmity of his heart against the spirit and principles of Christianity. Next, a "Bengal officer" publishes his "Vindication of the Hindoos,"—in which he magnifies the excellence of their moral system, and deprecates any interference with their customs or religion. He is more authoritative than any of his predecessors, in his demands that the bible should be proscribed, and all the missionaries expelled from India. About this time, Dr. Barrow published a sermon delivered before the University of Oxford, "on the propriety of *confining* missionary undertakings to the Established Church, to the exclusion of all others," etc.

These united efforts to create a prejudice against the eastern missions and stop their further operations, were aided very consi-

derably by the Edinburgh reviewers, and backed up finally by a Socinian "Barrister," and some one or two others.

To Mr. Fuller, who had been the most efficient agent in respect to the eastern missions, and was best acquainted with all their movements and effects, the eyes of the evangelical community were directed for a reply to these heterogeneous publications. To whatever touched the cause of missions he was deeply sensitive, and was therefore roused by these efforts to the utmost exertion. In 1808, when the opposition became truly formidable, he published "An apology for the late Christian Missions in India," and several other pamphlets to illustrate and defend the cause. In these, the various objections to missions are candidly examined and triumphantly refuted; their benevolent object and benign tendency demonstrated; the missionaries vindicated from the base insinuations and false charges made against them; and their self-denying, disinterested labors and unprecedented success shown by undeniable facts. As the effect principally of his exertions, Mr. Fuller had the happiness to find both the East India Company and the Legislature willing to show favor to the mission; and before he died, was permitted to see it resting on a foundation firm as the luxuriant plains over which it extended, and all the opposition it had to encounter, overruled for good.

In closing this account of Mr. Fuller's polemical writings, it can hardly be necessary to remark, that he was drawn into these discussions not by a love of controversy, but by the peculiar character of his mind. His feelings as a christian, took almost exclusively one direction, viz. *the love of truth*. That ardor and spirituality of soul, which gives rise, in ordinary men, to warm expressions of gratitude, adoration, and praise to God, would be naturally exhibited by a mind like Fuller's, in delighted contemplations on the wisdom of the divine government, and the immutability and perfection of revealed truth. The deep and calm piety of such men is generally under-rated. When tried by the standard of mere feeling, they often appear cold; but when brought to the test established by God himself, viz. that of *doing his will*, in the midst of sufferings and temptations, they almost invariably manifest a strength of principle, which mere ardor of feeling can never give. Fuller, whose whole life was devoted to the service of God, in the study and defense of divine truth, and who fell a victim to his intense labors in the cause of missions, was still regarded by many as deficient in spirituality of mind. Even his biographer, as appears from the following extract, seems to have fallen, to some degree, into an error on the subject.

But if spirituality consists in an aptness for spiritual exercises, or in the prevalence of devout affections, in this Mr. Fuller was not eminent. His

turn of mind led him to cultivate the intellectual and practical parts of religion, rather than the devotional ; and the want of fervor and enlargement, especially in the duty of prayer, was noticed and lamented by several of his brethren. He discovered an habitual and commendable disposition to converse on religious subjects, and appeared to have *but little relish for any other* ; but it was his remarks on their consistency and propriety, their harmony and tendency, as affording grounds for rational belief, and motives to holy obedience, that became the subject of admiration, rather than any remarkable degree of spirituality displayed in the discussion, or any immediate or successful effort to impress the heart, and kindle the fire of devotion. pp. 359, 360.

It would be unjust, however, to suppose from such remarks, that Mr. Fuller was deficient in warmth of feeling. On the contrary, he was a striking instance of what is sometimes met with in life, a man who conceals, under a rough exterior, uncommonly deep and tender sensibilities. In writing to a friend, respecting a son who seemed likely to disappoint his hopes, he expresses the anguish of his soul in the following manner.

My heart is almost broken. Let nothing that I said, grieve you ; but make allowance for your afflicted and distressed friend. When I lie down, a load almost insupportable depresses me. Mine eyes are kept waking ; or if I get a little sleep, it is disturbed ; and as soon as I awake, my load returns upon me. Oh Lord, I know not what to do ; but mine eyes are up unto thee. Keep me, oh my God, from sinful despondency ! Thou hast promised that all things shall work together for good to them that love thee : fulfil thy promise, on which thou hast caused thy servant to hope.—Oh my God, this child which thou hast given me in charge is wicked before thee, is disobedient to me, and is plunging himself into ruin. Have mercy upon him, oh Lord, and preserve him from evil. Bring him home to me, and not to me only, but also to thyself.

If I see the children of other people, it aggravates my sorrow. Those who have had no instruction, no pious example, or warnings, or counsels, are often seen to be steady and trusty : but my child, who has had all these advantages, is worthy of no trust to be placed in him. Oh my God, take away his heart of stone, and give him a heart of flesh ; oh give him a broken and sincere heart.—I am afraid he will go into the army, that sink of immorality ; or if not, that being reduced to extremity, he will be tempted to steal. And oh, if he should get such a habit, what may not these weeping eyes witness, or this broken heart be called to endure ! Oh my God, whither will my fears lead me ? Have mercy upon me, a poor unhappy parent : have mercy upon him, a poor ungodly child. Oh Lord, I am oppressed ; undertake for me ! p. 53.

“ I remember,” said he in another letter, “ at the time when that dear man Pearce was wasting away at Plymouth, I was riding outside the coach from London ; and turning my back on the company, I wept for several miles, and put up this prayer ; Let the God of SAMUEL PEARCE be my God.” p. 63.

We had marked a number of passages in these memoirs, of a miscellaneous character, which we had intended to lay before our

readers, as illustrations of Mr. Fuller's modes of thinking, and expression in ordinary life. But our limits compel us to be brief.

Few persons possessed a larger share of genuine wit than Mr. Fuller, or were more apt at repartee. In some instances he was severely sarcastic.—On a Lord's day in the afternoon, perceiving some of his hearers to be drowsy as soon as he had read his text, he struck his bible three times against the side of the pulpit, calling out, "What, asleep already? I am often afraid I should *preach* you asleep; but the fault cannot be mine today, for I have not yet begun!"

"It is very well known," says a monthly editor, "that Mr. Fuller was generally candid and forbearing towards young ministers, and ready to assist them in the explication of a subject, or in the composition of a sermon; but he also knew how to chastise vanity, ignorance, and conceit, and was not very sparing with persons of this description. A young man calling on him on a Saturday, and announcing rather consequentially, that he was going to preach on the morrow at a little distance; Mr. Fuller asked him for his text. He readily answered that he was going to preach from "One thing is needful." And what is that one thing, said Mr. Fuller. Tyro replied without hesitation, *Christ*, certainly. Why then said he, you are worse than the Socinians. They do allow him to be a man, but you are going to reduce him to a mere 'thing.' This unfortunate remark spoiled Tyro's sermon; and when he arrived at the place of his destination, where the flock was waiting for his sage instructions, he had not courage to bring forward what he had provided with much study and care." On another occasion, after delivering a sermon to a distant congregation, he was rather rudely accosted by one of the would-be judges of evangelical preaching, who said to him, as he descended the pulpit stairs, "You left Christ at home, sir!" Did I indeed? replied Mr. Fuller; then I shall hope to find him there when I return. Repartees of this kind abounded in his conversation; and both in his sermons and writings there is a greater variety of apophthegms than is usually to be met with in modern authors. pp. 360—62.

The following passage affords a pleasing instance of his incessant endeavors to do good, even among the youngest and lowest of his flock.

"I have been thinking of a plan," says he, in a letter above quoted, "for disseminating truth among our little lacemakers. A quantity of white wrapping-paper is used in the sale of small parcels of lace thread; so I will draw up a number of little hymns, the most impressive that I can either find or make, and get them printed on one side of the paper. Then every child that comes for a small quantity of thread, will find it wrapped up in a paper containing a short impressive hymn addressed to its heart." p. 65.

The following extract from a letter written during his last sickness, gives the fullest testimony to the doctrines of grace, which supported him in that trying season. It is valuable, likewise, as giving his deliberate and dying sanction to the mode of preaching which he had adopted.

I have very little hope of recovery; but I am satisfied to drink of the cup which my heavenly Father giveth me to drink. Without experience,

no one can conceive of the depression of my spirits: yet I have no despondency. ‘I know whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.’ I am a poor guilty creature; but Jesus is an almighty Savior. I have preached and written much against the *abuse* of the doctrine of grace, but that doctrine is all my salvation, and all my desire. I have no other hope than from mere sovereign, efficacious grace, through the atonement of my Lord and Savior. With this hope I can go into eternity with composure. Come Lord Jesus! Come when thou wilt! Here I am; let him do with me as seemeth him good.

We have some who have been giving it out of late, that ‘if Sutcliffe and some others had preached more of Christ, and less of Jonathan Edwards, they would have been more useful.’ If those who talk thus, preached Christ half as much as Jonathan Edwards did, and were half as useful as he was, their usefulness would be double what it is. It is very singular that the Mission to the East should have originated with men of these principles; and without pretending to be a prophet, I may say, if ever it falls into the hands of men who talk in this strain, it will soon come to nothing. pp. 345, 346.

But though Mr. Fuller was so devoted a disciple of President Edwards, he looked with anxiety and alarm at the speculations of those in this country, who, going beyond that great writer, resolve all the actions of men into mere results of divine efficiency. This anxiety he expressed freely to Dr. Hopkins, with whom he was in habits of correspondence. “Your observations on James i. 13, in vol. I. p. 213 of your System, go only to prove that your views do not represent God as tempting men to sin, or as being tempted to sin: but you do not observe the *opposition* in the context, that evil is *not* to be ascribed to God, v. 13—15, while every good and perfect gift, especially regeneration, *is* to be ascribed to God,” v. 16—18, p. 296. This passage of scripture ought, we think, forever to prevent statements of this kind which have sometimes been made, viz. that “God is equally the author of sin and of holiness.” The utmost we can say of sin, unless we mean to contradict the apostle in so many terms, is that God *permits* its existence, while holiness is the result of his direct and special influence on the mind.

It is curious to remark, in following Mr. Fuller through his various controversies, how often his opponents meant precisely the same thing with himself, and how entirely they were misled by a false construction of his terms or statements. We give the following as an example. Mr. Fuller advocated the doctrine of disinterested benevolence, and maintained that we are bound to love God for what he is in *himself*. Such love Mr. Martin, a Baptist clergyman, pronounced to be impossible, “a mere non-entity;” and wound off in the usual way, by identifying his antagonist, in holding this opinion, with “Arminians, Mystics, and Deists, its detailers and defenders.” And why? Because men, from the nature of the case, seek for *happiness* in every object which they choose or

love. Now this was the very principle of Mr. Fuller himself; and his opponent is thus happily wound up in a single sentence.

The question is this, Is it possible for us to take pleasure in (i. e. love) an object for its own sake? Mr. Martin answers No! Wherefore? Because says he that object affords us pleasure; that is, (on his principle,) we cannot take pleasure in an object, because we can and do take pleasure in it. p. 285.

It is to be regretted that any who maintain the doctrine of disinterested love, should hastily unite with Mr. Martin in separating this affection from the desire of happiness in him who feels it. What can more perfectly describe the highest earthly virtue, than to say that a man finds all his *happiness* in doing his duty and promoting the glory of God?

It was the good fortune of Mr. Fuller, amidst all the misrepresentations and opposition which he was called to encounter, to find in Dr. Ryland a firm and open defender.

As to Mr. Fuller, (says Ryland in a letter to Mr. Booth) if I should find any thing in which he has expressed himself inaccurately, I will tell *him* of it myself; but I will not have the remotest hand in furnishing the many professors, who dislike him for opposing their attempts to *annihilate duty*, with a term of reproach, that has with them far more weight than twenty scriptural arguments.—That a man who is continually employed for God, and has ably defended the cause of God against the most mischievous foes of the truth, should be held up as an object of suspicion and dislike, while the most injudicious and inconsiderate distortions of Calvinism are suffered to pass unnoticed, is to me a matter of unspeakable surprise." pp. 309, 310.

We lay down these memoirs with an increased respect for their venerated subject, and with an ardent desire that his able exertions in the defense and explanation of the doctrines of grace, may be productive of great good for ages to come.

**ART. II.—ON THE FEAR OF GOD, AS AN ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE
OF TRUE RELIGION.**

Andrew.

PRESIDENT EDWARDS has said, in his treatise on the affections, that "holy fear is so much of the nature of true godliness, that it [i. e. true religion] is called in the scriptures by no other name more frequently than the fear of God." And after adducing a few examples, he adds, "There is, in some persons, a most unsuitable and unsupportable boldness, in their addresses to the great Jehovah,—the very thoughts of which would make them shrink into nothing, with horror and confusion, if they saw the distance that is between God and them."

In these sentiments we most fully concur. They are highly important as well as just and true ; and we believe, that with regard to some at the present day, who claim for themselves a religious character, the foregoing quotations are not wholly impertinent or without application. Indeed, it is a question, whether there is not, on some accounts, a peculiar tendency in the minds of many, to divest religion of what may be thought its less agreeable and its sterner features, and to accommodate its holy character and claims to men's natural tastes and inclinations, by divesting the Deity himself of some of those essential moral perfections, upon which the obligation to *fear him*, as well as to love him, is founded. If this is a question, it is obviously no unimportant question. If the tendency to such a deteriorated and defective religion as we have supposed does exist, in these days of general prosperity to the church, the subject ought to be inquired into, the evil exposed, and the proper remedy pointed out. All that is proposed in the following remarks, is simply to suggest a few thoughts *on the fear of God as essential to true religion.* These thoughts may be conveniently arranged under three separate topics. First, the fear of God considered with reference to its *nature* as a duty obligatory upon mankind. Secondly, The *foundation* upon which the obligation thus to fear God rests. Thirdly, Several *misapprehensions* relating to this subject, together with the *grounds* of them.

1. The fear of God, which is the subject of these remarks, is a *moral* emotion. It is so, not only because it is the emotion of a moral and accountable being, but also because it is exercised towards God as a moral ruler and judge of the world. A voluntary and accountable being, is the agent in this mental exercise. It is an exercise which man puts forth *only* in his intelligent and accountable character. It is not a merely instinctive and constitutional feeling of the soul, which is independent of the will, and which arises in the mind whether the will concurs in it or not. It is not the fear of brute instinct flying from impending danger. It is the fear of a being who can and does perceive and feel moral obligation ; a rational being ; a being who is accountable to God ; and accountable not only in reference to some things, but in reference to this very act itself. It is therefore strictly a *moral* act. It is so, moreover, because it is exercised towards God as a moral ruler. The Most High *may* be feared simply on account of his vast and irresistible power. He may be dreaded, just as the whirlwind and the tempest are dreaded, on account of the terrible effects which they produce. Men may fear God, because they understand that he is a great and majestic being ; and because they know that He has power to crush them in an instant if he pleases, and because they have no power to prevent it. Hence they may feel afraid even to think, or speak

of him ; afraid to be in his presence, or in those places which are apt *especially* to remind men of his existence ; afraid to feel that his all-seeing eye is upon them in every action of their lives. But in all this fear, there may be no recognition of God as a moral ruler, as governing mankind by a righteous and holy *law*, and by the awful sanctions which such a law of necessity implies. He may not be thought of, as a Being possessed of rectitude, or even of intelligence. Greatness, power, uncontrollable dominion, may be the only ideas which are awakened by the mention of the Almighty. And thus the infinitely wise and holy Governor, Judge, and Rewarder of mankind, may in men's apprehensions of him, be converted into a mere blind but resistless power, fate or destiny. And to this awful power they may render the very same kind of fear and homage, which they instinctively feel towards power in any form, from which they apprehend danger, and from which there is no escape.

The fear of God, inculcated in the scriptures, proceeds from a *direct* view of its great Object, and of his sublime perfections. It is not so much the fear of some evil, some physical suffering, which he may inflict upon us, as it is a direct sentiment of the heart towards our Maker, and in view of what he is in himself. It supposes,—what every other correct sentiment towards him must suppose,—that he exists separately from, and independently of, any external symbols or manifestations of his existence, in all the glory of his attributes, as a being of pure and spotless perfection, prior to and independent of any of those mere circumstances, through the medium of which, as feeble illustrations of his character, he has seen fit to make himself known to creatures. It is not God in the whirlwind, and in the earthquake, and in the fire, that is feared : it is God as existing every where, and as brought to our minds in the “still small voice” of his universal presence and universal agency. Holy fear, then, takes its rise from a spiritual apprehension of our relations to God as subjects of his righteous government, and is founded, of course, in the very nature of this great and exalted being. The external universe may be the medium of bringing him into the mind’s view, as may also the acts of his almighty providence, but it is no act of his providence, and no part of the external universe, that *objectively* awakens the fear in question. It is God himself ; the infinite Intelligence ; the pure uncreated Spirit ; the self-existent and holy One, dwelling retired from mortal vision in light inaccessible. The visible heavens do indeed *declare* his glory ; and there is no language or speech where their voice is not heard ; but though they speak his praise as with a thousand tongues, proclaiming over every sea and every land their Maker’s glory, yet even these are not the Deity himself. He sits behind them all, enthroned in high supremacy over the immensity of his works.

Whatever sentiments his mere works may inspire ; sentiments of wonder, of admiration, and of awe ; and whatever appearance there may be of religion in these sentiments, it is all a delusion unless the heart is brought into a willing subjection to the commands of God in his holy law. This, under every moral government is the grand decisive test. "If ye love me keep my commandments," is the standard set up as well by every moral governor on earth, as by God the Lord of all.

But how often do we witness the sentiment of fear, and that too, as many flatter themselves, of a religious kind, without the slightest reference to God as a moral Ruler ! Who has not marked the solemnity and felt it himself too, which has set upon the countenances of the crowds, that have gathered to the funeral obsequies of the dead? What a deep and breathless stillness have we sometimes witnessed around the grave ? And when the dead was deposited in the narrow house, and the earth fell, cold and heavy, upon the coffin, with its hollow sepulchral sound, who has not found a solemn dread stealing over his mind ; and felt that this was a solemn place ; and that man has solemn concerns to attend to, and that it was high time that he was attending to them, because it is a solemn thing to die, and be deposited in the grave, and go to judgment. But, in all this interesting exhibition of stillness and awe and solemnity, how little direct fear of God is there. How little is that great being an object even of the mind's recognition and regard. How often is he, in scenes of the greatest solemnity, and under actual and strong impressions of awe on the mind, wholly shut out from the mind's notice, and an object of no more direct fear than if he had in truth and reality no existence. Now the fear of which we are speaking has a direct reference to God ; towards him as its single object it is felt ; on him it terminates ; with him alone it has to do, whatever may be the circumstances or the occasions which give rise to it.

The fear of God here spoken of has respect to *God in his true and real character* ; it is exercised towards him in view of what he truly is, and in view of his *whole* revealed character. It is the result of no imaginary or false notions of God ; it is the result of a correct and a clear apprehension of his character. A true scriptural fear of God arises from a view of his moral purity, in connection with his infinite greatness : it is the feeling of one who sees perfect loveliness combined with supreme majesty and greatness, unbounded intelligence and wisdom and power, and giving its own peculiar and lovely character to this great, intelligent, majestic, all powerful being : it is the feeling of awe towards God as being, in every aspect and every exhibition of his glorious character, a *holy* God : It is the sentiment of a heart, which, whether it perceives God

through the grand and the sublime, or the beautiful and the lovely, of his works and ways, sees him truly, as he is in his whole character, and preeminently in the excellency of his *holiness*, in his repugnance to sin, in his immutable and eternal love of rectitude, and his equally fixed and unchangeable aversion to all unrighteousness. There *are* views of the Most High we think, which inspire no fear towards him, but it is not because the Most High is not properly to be feared : It is because these are not correct views of him. They do not answer to the truth and reality of things. Either they are false, or they are partial, or they are too dim and feeble to leave any proper impression on the mind. They are limited perhaps, as is frequently the fact, to certain vague conceptions of goodness and benevolence in the Most High ; they regard him as engaged simply in making man happy—happy by the mere exertion of his power upon them; not in governing a great moral empire of accountable and immortal minds; not as administering a government of law, not in securing from men a rational, voluntary obedience to his will; not in leading intelligent beings, to do right, and to feel right, and thus preparing them to enjoy the sweet and blessed peace of mind, which nothing but doing right and feeling right towards God and towards one another, can impart. This is a foundation for happiness which is firm; all else is sand. Now to understand that “fear of the Lord” which is “the beginning of wisdom,” we must regard him in his *whole* character; not simply as kind, but as holy; not as laboring merely to effectuate men’s happiness, and that by exertions of physical power; but as treating with men as subjects of law, guilty and undone, and yet voluntary in their guilt and undoing, and to be made happy, if made happy at all, not by a mere pardon, nor by an exercise of favor towards them, in any form as the mere passive recipients of such favor, but in turning them away from their iniquities; in inclining them to hate sin just as God hates it, and to love holiness just as God loves it, and to do his will because his will is always right, and because therefore it is right that they should do it, and because it is wrong and criminal to do otherwise. God does not make men happy, but in virtue of his holiness or infinite love of rectitude; he could not make men happy by mere benevolence, with whatever power it might be allied, without holiness. He must first lead them to renounce their sins, in order to make them happy. He must make them the voluntary lovers and choosers of virtue and piety, and the voluntary haters and refusers of unrighteousness towards God and man, or he cannot even with infinite power in his hands (with reverence be it spoken) accomplish men’s final happiness. It is easy to see then, that the fear of God, which the scriptures so often enjoin, is the result of correct views of his character, and springs

from just apprehensions of his glorious holiness; and that a religion devoid of fear, cannot be the religion which the character of the true God, and the very nature and design of his government, are fitted to inspire.

It is the fear *of a heart reconciled to God.* It is the spirit of adoption, childlike, confiding, humble. The heart in which this heavenly temper dwells, has been given to God. The antecedent spirit of rebellion has been subdued, and the greatest and the best of beings has been enthroned in the affections of the soul. As a consequence, the fear of God, which is now felt, is filial, is mingled with love, is connected inseparably with confidence and complacency towards its great object. It is a chastened and a holy fear. It is the spirit of one who loves to bow and worship, with the deepest reverence and self-abasement, before the Eternal Majesty. It is the spirit, which while it sees in God infinite excellence and purity and glory, loves to lie in the dust before him; loves to abase itself; loves to see honor conferred on the Redeemer and his gospel; loves to see all the glory and pride of man, and of all created existences together, reduced as it were to nothing, and God alone exalted, and receiving all praise and honor from an adoring universe. It reveres the *law* of God. It has much to do with that law, as existing and in force now; existing in all its original strictness and purity, and in all its original obligatory force, and as the great standard of right and wrong, and the authoritative rule of duty to mankind. Indeed, the character of God himself, it learns chiefly and most effectually, through his law, and by means of what he has done to support and maintain his government. The gospel also, in view of a mind imbued with the spirit here spoken of, derives its principal meaning and interest from the law; the blood of Christ is the blood of atonement and satisfaction to that law; the Redeemer himself is seen as an expiatory victim and sacrifice only in relation to that law; and the whole scheme of salvation points us back to that violated rule of righteousness. To fear God then, truly, and as the scriptures direct, supposes, that the mind has been enlightened to see the excellency of Jehovah's law; to feel the reasonableness and force of its requirements; and consequently to see and feel the need of the gospel, the preciousness of that blood which was shed to support that law, as the foundation of hope to mankind, and the certainty of perdition to all who reject the hope thus exhibited before them.

It would be needless to add, that in the exercise of the spirit described in the foregoing remarks, there is induced upon the mind an unwonted and a highly salutary *circumspection and watchfulness.* The mind is rendered by it apprehensive of evil, quick to discern danger, and vigilant in guarding against being led into sin. Sin itself, to such a mind, becomes a great and justly alarm-

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ing evil. Temptation is apt to be suspected. The enemy is anticipated, and danger foreseen. Reverence towards God and his law exerts a highly conservative and protecting influence over the mind, to keep it from wandering heedlessly away into scenes of danger. At the same time it prompts to unceasing prayer to Him who is able to protect us. And thus it leads to the only effectual source of peace and safety.

It will be perceived from what has been said, that the religious fear, the nature of which we have been attempting to describe, is strictly a matter of *duty*; not an instinct, not an involuntary constitutional feeling; but a moral emotion, put forth under the full power of a free and responsible moral agency, with the character and law of God in view, and under all those solemn inducements to fear God which his character and his law so plainly involve.

2. We shall now briefly consider the *foundation* of the obligation to fear God.

It is not, simply, that the Most High has required this duty of us. It is not on account, merely, of the greatness, majesty, and power, which belong to the Supreme Being. Nor is it because he can, and in due time will, command all the stores of righteous vengeance in retribution of men's regardlessness of him. Nor does the obligation in question depend upon the fact, that men shall have first become holy, and so shall be disposed to render to God the fear required of them. It consists in none of these things. It lies deeper. It is founded in the nature and relations of man, as an intelligent and accountable being, and in the moral character of God as the holy governor of the universe. God is to be feared because he is a holy God; a pure, righteous being, who hates iniquity, and will by no means clear the guilty. In this view of God it is that the Seraphim in the prophet's vision, are represented as veiling their faces, and "crying and saying one to another, holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory." It is in this view of God, that all his loyal and obedient kingdom are represented as saying, "who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name; for thou only art holy; for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest." And it is in this same view of the Most High, that the apocalyptic angel, as seen "flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto all them that dwell on the earth, to every nation and kindred and tongue and people," is represented as saying, "fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that made heaven, earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." The obligation then to fear God, it appears from abundant evidence gathered from earth and from heaven, lies in the very nature of his perfections as the holy and righteous governor of the world. This obligation is binding

on *man*, because man is capable of perceiving that this is his Maker's character. It is binding on every man and all men alike, because every man in his right mind is possessed of this capacity, to know God and to feel the obligation to obey him. Nothing but the annihilation of our rational faculties can release us from the duty of holy fear and reverence towards God, as well as every other evangelical temper, and to him, let every man remember, we are answerable for the result. Let every one remember too, that there is a tribunal within him, in the very faculties of his own intelligent and immortal spirit, which will hold him guilty, and make him *feel* that he is guilty, if he practically disregards this sacred obligation. And if he can, by any means, corrupt or pervert the tribunal within him, there exists a similar tribunal in the reason and intelligence of the whole created universe, and by the verdict of that tribunal he is guilty of death, if he does not render to the most high God the fear and reverence which are due to his great name. In vain will he pretend to love God, or to exercise the required gratitude for his favors, if he overlooks those essential attributes of the Supreme Being which entitle him to be feared as well as loved; or rather, which make the very love of a holy heart towards him, but the chastened sentiment of a childlike, humble, adoring reverence.

3. It only remains, that we notice some *misapprehensions* on this subject, together with the *grounds* of them. The misapprehensions to which we allude are the following.

It is supposed by some, that emotions of fear have little to do with true religion, if indeed they are not incompatible with it. There are many, who seem at least, to make religion to consist almost wholly in high and strong affections, and particularly in affections of a glad and joyous character. With them, all true religion is little if any thing more than gratitude, joy, and admiration. This is the character of their own religion; and in others, it is the only religion with which they have much sympathy, or for which they feel much charity. Now this, if the foregoing remarks are just, is a misapprehension of the true nature of religion; and it arises from this source. It overlooks some of the essential perfections of God as a moral ruler; and supposes that the Deity is simply kind, and benevolent, and all powerful, and that his sole object is to make his creatures happy. Now this, we conceive, is a total misapprehension of the subject, and the scheme of religion to which it gives birth, is essentially false, and fraught with abundant mischief to the souls of men. Where, on this scheme, is Jehovah's purity, and holiness, and hatred of sin? Where that awful and glorious justice or equity, which is the very basis of his throne and government? Where, on this scheme, is the value, or the meaning, of the atonement, properly so called? Where the peculiar scrip-

tural preciousness of the Messiah's blood? Where the appropriateness, necessity, and power of the gospel, as a plan of salvation for guilty and lost beings? If God is simply good and benevolent, or if that is the most important view of his character which we can take, what shall we do with much, very much of the bible—what mean those awful threatenings which Sinai heard and trembled to hear. If God reigns in mere kindness, and for no other purpose but to make men happy, why the scenes of Gethsemane and Golgotha; the heavens gathering blackness, and the earth giving signs of woe; why those terrible sufferings; why those hours of preternatural darkness; why that spectacle of sorrow on the cross; why that mysterious cry of deep, unwonted distress, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." All this to tell us merely that God is good? Why not tell us this in the more direct and obvious way, of putting forth his power at once, and making men happy, if this was the simple end and object of his government? If God is to be regarded as accomplishing men's happiness only, and that too by mere power in alliance with goodness, why all those solemn exhibitions of justice, and holiness, and hatred of sin; and all those measures of a moral government, to which the Most High has resorted, and under the influence of which he is so evidently carrying on, from age to age, his glorious work of transforming a world of rebels, into a family of dutiful and affectionate children? We do not need the testimony of the cross to tell us simply that God is good, nor that he wills the happiness of mankind. But we need that affecting testimony for other purposes; we need it to tell us, that while God is good, yea, infinitely good and benevolent, he is also pure in his goodness, and holy in his benevolence, and just while the justifier of him that believes on Christ; and thus to gather round man's heart, every high and constraining motive to induce him to fear, as well as to love, that mighty Being, who is taking such measures to reclaim and save him. Now we would ask, Is the religion which is adapted to the character and circumstances of men, and which naturally results from the manifested character and purposes of God, a mere exercise of gratitude, or of admiration and confidence and joy? Where in all this, is the distinctive and peculiar spirit of the reclaimed and pardoned sinner? Where in all this, is there any evidence, that God is seen and regarded, as he truly is, and for what he truly is? Where in a whole world of such beings, would there be found one, answering to the following designation from the mouth of God by his prophet, "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word;" or answering to the description of our Savior, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for their's is the kingdom of heaven." Again. It seems to be supposed by many, that sin is a light and venial offense; man's misfortune rather than his

crime; an unhappiness more properly than any very censurable dereliction of duty. This misapprehension also arises from mistaken conceptions of God, and of the duty which man owes him. It proceeds from that fruitful source of error in religion, low and unworthy notions of the infinitely pure and holy One, and of the importance, the rectitude, the strictness, the extent, the unchangeable obligation, of his law. Where God is not seen to be what he is, and is not feared for being what he is, it is not to be expected that there will be any just or proper sense of sin; even the bare intellectual perception of its true turpitude and odiousness will not exist in the mind. All just views of sin are derived from just views of the character and law of God. When this great and holy being is degraded in men's eyes, and virtually dispossessed of his throne and kingdom, and his law cast behind their backs, then sin and rebellion against him, at least in any of their ordinary forms, will wear only the appearance of slight and venial offenses. Men, instead of feeling penitent and humble, as they have much occasion to do, in view of their real delinquency and guilt, will feel proud of their imaginary virtues, and indulge feelings of self-complacency and self-esteem, on account of their supposed excellence of character. It would be superfluous to ask, of what benefit can such a scheme of salvation as that of the gospel be to beings cherishing such views of themselves as these. The pharisee in the parable exhibits their spirit,—a spirit invulnerable, immovable, to all the influences of the gospel. Hence comes the doctrine, of a merely human Redeemer, to save men's souls; and an atonement for sin, which is in truth no atonement; and a renovation of men's characters, which is any thing but making them new creatures in Christ; and a faith in the Lord of life and glory which regards him as a mere minister of divine grace and mercy to the world of mankind; and the conclusion of the whole, that all men are to be saved. Again. It is a misapprehension of many, that present *happiness* is the only sure test of true religion. With them, all religion is vain, which does not bring a perpetual sunshine into the soul, and fill the mouth with praise. Even the serener and more hidden ~~pleasures~~ of religion, which, like still waters, are noiseless because they are deep, such persons would condemn as savoring too much of a timid, legal spirit. The mourning for sin; the solemn fear to offend; the conscious unworthiness; the deep prostration of soul before God; the earnest striving, not after greater joy but greater purity of character; the humility; the self-abasement; the leaning upon the cross of Christ for support and comfort; the meekly hoping in God in the midst of discouragements, which occasionally may seem to intercept almost every ray of light, and which, for seasons at least, may make the christian life appear much more like a conflict than a triumph; these are, in the view of many, the exercises of a

spirit, which has not experienced the true liberty of the gospel, which has not yet been, fully, at least, initiated into the school of Christ. But to us it seems, that what is here looked upon as savoring of a legal and slavish spirit, is the very temper of the gospel. As to the question of *happiness* even, we would not exchange its hidden and peaceful and holy pleasures, for the higher and more extatic joys, and rapturous emotions, in which many appear to place the very essence and vitality of religion. Although we are far from making present happiness the test of piety, or from thinking that men cannot be disciples of Christ because they are not always with him on the mount of transfiguration, yet we think, that the humble, reverential spirit, which has been described in these pages, is at least not less favorable to true enjoyment than a spirit of an opposite or different kind. And we believe it will ever be found true, that in regard to mere peace and comfort, as in every other desirable attribute, that religion is the purest and best, which springs from the most exalted and reverential thoughts of God, of his law, and of his gospel, and which makes all nature seem, as it were, one vast temple, the solemn dwelling place of that pure and holy Being.

We add a single general remark. Right conceptions of the character and government of the Supreme Being are of the utmost importance in religion. How can men fear this mighty Being, until they have obtained some just conceptions concerning him? How practice the duties of an intelligent and enlightened piety—how live as men ought to live—how die as a serious man would wish to die? To this point we earnestly invite the attention of our readers. We assure them that that time will not be misemployed, which is spent in acquainting themselves with the Almighty, that they may learn to fear him, and be at peace with him.

ART. III.—LETTER FROM A TRAVELER ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

My Dear J.—.

Prof. Goodrich

In accordance with my intention, as expressed in a former letter, I took passage at Marseilles in a French ship bound for Naples, on the 22d of January, 18—. This course was recommended by my friends, in preference to a journey by land during the winter season, round the northern coast of the Mediterranean. I regretted the necessity of yielding to their advice, as I should thus lose a sight of the maritime Alps, with the road which lies under them, from Nice to Genoa. This road I had often heard spoken of, as presenting a kind of scenery so peculiar

and even unique, as richly to repay all the labor and privations of the route. But as no companion could be found, whose views and wishes were co-incident with my own in this respect, I felt myself compelled to submit to a mode of conveyance, which in nine days, as I was confidently assured, would place me at Naples, in a climate like that of May in our country.

Accordingly, at five o'clock, A. M. we left Marseilles with a fair wind, which had blown for a fortnight, and which it was *of course* concluded, would blow a fortnight longer. At the end of the second day, we had completed one quarter of the voyage. The northern point of Corsica was nearly gained. Nice lay on our left at the distance of forty miles; the mountains back of Genoa were in full view before us; and the shores of Tuscany above Leghorn began to appear on our right. In a few hours we were to pass the cape, and run down with a fine breeze, through the Tuscan gulf, to Naples. But we were a few hours too late. At this moment the wind became adverse. We beat up against it for nearly two days, and saw other ships which were a few miles in advance of us, weather the point, and bear down for Naples, while we were left behind.

During the whole of one day, we were standing close under the western coast of Corsica, not far from the birth place of Bonaparte. The greater part of the Island appeared to be a mass of rocks, rising into peaks—broken by ravines—thrown into every form of confusion, by the action of some powerful element. Along the shores to the width of three or four miles, are fertile plains or hill-sides. These were covered with olive trees and wheat fields, presenting a strong contrast to the perfect desolation of the mountains, which constitute the greater part of the Island. These mountains are some thousand feet high, and were covered with snow half way down their sides, while the temperature on the sea-shore was like that of our April. This is a striking peculiarity in European scenery. With us cold and heat appear to be more equally distributed over a great extent of country. We rarely see the livery of winter and of summer in the same landscape. But around the shores of the Mediterranean, there are every where sheltered spots where snow rarely if ever falls; where the temperature of our October is prolonged to January, and the mildness of May begins to be felt in the early part of February, while the mountains which wall them in, and protect them from the cold, are themselves covered with snow till June or July. There is something peculiarly picturesque and striking in the union of two such extremes in the same scenery—a landscape of rich, green fields covered with orange and lemon trees loaded with fruit, around which is thrown, like a border, a chain of rugged mountains covered with snow. Such was the appearance of Corsica during nearly two days while we were endea-

voring in vain to pass the northern point. Finding our efforts ineffectual, we put back to Toulon, thirty miles distant from Marseilles, hoping for a change of wind which might enable us to proceed within a few days.

After remaining nearly a fortnight at Toulon, and finding our expectations disappointed in this respect, we engaged a Veterino to convey us to Nice, a distance of ninety miles. Our company consisted of a French gentleman, his lady and child, an Italian and his lady, a British half-pay officer and myself. Leaving Toulon, February 11th, at two o'clock, P. M. we passed through the vallies to the north-east, beneath the mountains which skirt the environs of Toulon. Spring seemed to be rapidly advancing. The cherry trees and apple trees were in blossom; the peas were three inches high; the wheat had the rich velvet hue of early vegetation, and all conspired under a clear sky and a bracing atmosphere to give life and spirits to the whole party. Our road wound through rich vallies in a high state of cultivation, bordered by hills of three or four hundred feet in height, which rose by a graceful, but bold ascent from the valley. The outline of these hills was continually varied and broken by vallies which crossed them in different directions. In most places they were cultivated quite to the summit. To support the earth on the steep descending sides, walls of stone are erected parallel to the summit, and the whole surface is laid out in terraces winding along the declivity. At a distance, these terraces resemble a row of steps rising gradually from the bottom to the top of the hills; and the olive trees, with their evergreen leaves scattered over the lighter verdure of the wheat fields, give to the whole a picturesque appearance. Occasionally at the intersection of some valley which penetrates the mountains, an old castle on some insulated rock, overlooks the pass beneath; and recalls the days of baronial rapacity and independence. Around the foot and up the sides of the steep where the castle is situated, a small village has generally sprung up, to which the castle was formerly a retreat in times of danger. In most instances these villages still retain their ancient situation, inconvenient as it is for the purposes of husbandry; and the peasantry go down to their labor in the plain below, as they did while the civil dissensions of France rendered such precautions necessary. Similar instances of adherence to a former state of things, always inconvenient, and now unnecessary, continually occur on the shores of the Mediterranean, and afford a striking proof of the power of habit among an old people. In a great proportion of instances, these richly cultivated plains are without a house or cottage to enliven the scene. The sides of the hills, however, have an uncommon beauty from the union, at a single view, of fields, hamlets, vineyards, and olive gardens, with the ruins of castles and ancient chateaux. The

carriage being heavily loaded, we proceeded but nine miles that afternoon.

At five the next morning, we commenced our journey. The ground was covered with hoar frost, and the morning was chilly till nine o'clock; but the country looked beautiful like the commencement of May with us. Our road lay through the same varied scenery as on the preceding day. As we wound along the high grounds, basons of five or six miles in diameter were spread out before us, in all the beauty of early vegetation. At a distance appeared on the skirts of the horizon, the lofty mountains of Savoy, covered with snow. We continued now and then to meet with castles or villages on some bold eminence which shot out from the foot of the mountains, and overlooked the adjoining plain. Most of these castles are now converted into churches. Some of them are single square towers, like the belfrey of a church. Others are more extensive works, embracing an acre or more on the summit of the hill, and presenting a succession of battlements and towers, at every accessible point. On one beautiful hill which rose from the plain in the form of an exact sugar loaf, to the height of three hundred feet with a base of four hundred, stood a neat looking white chapel, which has probably been substituted in later times for some ancient and decayed fortification. This mingling of the past and present in the scenery of the south of France, throws a romantic air over objects which are highly picturesque and beautiful in themselves. At five o'clock we stopped for the night at a small village a few miles from Frejus.

Rising at four the next morning, we commenced our journey by the light of the moon. At seven, we reached Frejus, a small town of three thousand inhabitants, chiefly memorable as the place from which Bonaparte took his departure for Elba, after his first abdication. It is situated on the side of those hills, which bound the plain already spoken of. In front extends the plain about three miles to the Mediterranean; richly cultivated but without houses, as the inhabitants of the village go down to their labors for the day and return at night. There seemed hardly any thing like a port. A few small coasting vessels were at anchor in the bay, but there was nothing which indicated commerce.

At Frejus, we took two additional horses to ascend the mountains, which reach down to the coast on the road to Cannes, our next stage. These mountains are a thousand or twelve hundred feet high; lying in broken ridges a number of miles wide, which every where indicate the action of some great convulsion like the deluge, in the formation of their present surface. Consisting of materials which are not equally hard with our granite or basalt, they are scooped into hollows, broken into waves, and crossed by deep ravines in every direction. The road constructed by Bonaparte,

winds for three miles to the central height of this ridge, from which on each side are seen scattered peaks rising in a conical form, with hollows of every shape in the intervening space. The whole has the appearance of a sea suddenly arrested in the midst of a tempest, and transformed into rocks and earth. The trees were chiefly gone, and the surface was covered with heath. Here and there a forest of small pines crowned the summit of a peak, or extended down the sides into the valley below. Beyond the ridge on which we now stood, we could trace for many miles behind, the long line of vallies through which we had passed; and before us lay a still higher range of mountains covered with snow. Around us there appeared scarcely any marks of cultivation. Here and there was a flock of goats hanging on the hills at a distance. The Mediterranean stretched out on our right, at the distance of two miles, and added to the sublimity of the scene around us. As we descended the north-eastern side of the ridge, it assumed the appearance of the Green Mountain range in Vermont. The pines were indeed small; but the logs collected in heaps to be sawed, reminded me of scenes in the interior of our own country, to which my mind goes back with emotions that never can be felt on your side of the Atlantic. No one, I believe, knows how much he loves his country, till he looks back to its shores from a land of strangers.

Gradually descending the mountain, we arrived at Cannes, a little fishing town of two thousand inhabitants, where we spent the night. It was on the island of St. Margurita, one mile from Cannes, that Bonaparte landed with seven or eight hundred men on his return from Elba. Proceeding to Grasse, which lies near the road we have just passed, he took the route to Gap and Grenoble, avoiding the large towns where the force of the king might be too strong for his followers. At one place on the road, as we were told at Cannes, a large body of troops appeared before him, drawn up to arrest his progress. His decision was instantly taken. Leaving his followers behind him, he advanced towards a column drawn up with their muskets pointed at his breast, and exclaimed as he came within hearing, "If there is one among you who has the heart to kill his *General*, his *Emperor*, let him do it." The appeal was irresistible to men who had been accustomed to conquer under his command. He instantly advanced to their head, gave the word to wheel, and commence the march for Paris. They all followed him with united acclamations. Going up to an old grenadier and pulling him by the whiskers, he said, "could you have fired?" "No," replied the man, putting his ramrod into his musket, to show that it was not loaded—"you will find it the same with all."

Leaving Cannes, at five the next morning, we proceeded over level plains within a mile of the sea, to Antibes a town of two thou-

sand inhabitants. Antibes is strongly fortified to protect a bay on which it stands. From Antibes to Caign, a small village on the summit of a hill, overlooking a rich plain below, occupied an hour. The appearance of the town, jutting out on a commanding eminence with its ancient citadel in the center, and its old walls and battlements of five centuries ago, was peculiarly striking. At one o'clock we reached the river Var which separates France from the dominions of the king of Sardinia. Here our passports were examined, first by the French police, and again on crossing the river, by the Sardinian officers. We had expected our baggage to be searched at this place, but were allowed to proceed a mile to Nice ; on the French gentleman's giving his word to the custom house officers, that we had nothing contraband in the carriage. With this they were satisfied, but a more serious question remained. "Had we any books," for every thing of this kind must be taken to the Bishop for examination, lest any heresy in politics or religion should be introduced into the kingdom. We accordingly gave up our whole collection, and as a few of them breathed too much the spirit of liberty, they occasioned us some unpleasant occurrences on our arrival at Nice.

This town, so much distinguished both in ecclesiastical history, and in the wars of the last century, is situated on a bay of a semi-circular form which curves gently in, two miles from the Mediterranean. To form a just conception of the adjoining country, imagine the half of a Roman amphitheatre with seats rising behind seats, composed of hills and mountains, to the height of two thousand feet. Into this amphitheatre the bay, two miles deep and five miles across, sweeps with a regular curve as if formed by art. The plain on which the town is situated, corresponds to the arena of the amphitheatre, and points to the south; extending back towards the mountains, in a semi-circular form, about four miles : Its greatest width on the bay is perhaps three miles. To the east, the mountains which form the amphitheatre, rise boldly from the water's edge to the height of a thousand feet, and cut off all communication along the coast, on the margin of the sea. To the northeast and north, one range of hills rises above another for twenty miles ; and in the distant perspective appear the mountains of Savoy, covered with snow. To the north-west and west on the side of France, the mountains do not reach the coast ; but long hills stretch down from the interior and complete the semi-circle. Through its center is the bed of a river some hundred feet wide, which is filled for a few hours when a heavy rain pours down the water from the mountains ; and during the rest of the year a little stream of twenty feet in width, winds through the stones which cover the bed of the torrent. Over this torrent are two bridges. Along its sides is carried a wall to confine the stream within its

banks. On the shore of the sea near the central point of the bay, rises a mountain two hundred feet high, and not far from two miles in circumference at the base. Towards the sea side, are lofty precipices, which gradually decline in the rear to the plain below. This was the ancient citadel. On the top was the original settlement, and round it on the plain, the town gradually sprung up in the progress of years. A fort now covers a part of this height; and the remainder is formed into a terrace, which affords an agreeable promenade. A little port a quarter of a mile long and four hundred feet wide, runs back between the fortress and the mountains which form the eastern side of the amphitheatre. The greater part of the city lies to the north of the fortress, embracing a population of 24,000. The whole of the plain behind the town is filled with orange groves and olive yards. At present the oranges are in the highest state of perfection; growing in clusters, which load the tree much beyond any proportion to its size. A lady showed me the end of a single branch, on which hung twelve oranges, as near to each other as they could possibly be placed. Their rich, golden color, glancing from the midst of deep green leaves, has a beautiful effect when viewed from the surrounding hills. The lemon trees have the same general appearance, but give variety to the scene by the difference of their color. Around the whole is thrown a thick covering of olive groves, which fill the plain and climb up the hill-sides, spreading out at all seasons like a sea of foliage. Among these groves are scattered numerous villas built in much better taste than the French chateaux, and receiving additional beauty from the contrast of their snowy whiteness, with the dark sea-green of the groves which surround them. Such in *general* is the appearance of Nice, without referring to those slighter inequalities of surface and outline, which must always modify such a scene. The town is built like all Italian cities, with great compactness. Many streets are not twelve feet wide, and in walking through them you scarcely feel yourself to be out of doors. An arch is frequently thrown across the street in Italian cities, to connect houses on the opposite sides; and you seem to be moving within the galleries of a building, whose roof has decayed and fallen in from the lapse of years. In Nice, however, there are fewer of these narrow alleys than in most other cities in the south of Europe; while from the nature of the ground there are many handsome lines of houses along the port, on the margin of the sea, and on the banks of the torrent.

After remaining a few days at Nice, we took our departure for Genoa. The road is excellent for the first twenty miles to Ventemeglia; and is part of that magnificent line of roads which Bonaparte had commenced, round the northern coast of the Mediterranean from Nice to Leghorn. It rises along the side of the hills

by an easy ascent, at no point so steep as we often find in our great roads, but gradually surmounting the heights around the plain of Nice. The prospect about four miles from that city, at the height of fifteen hundred or two thousand feet, is so grand and peculiar, that I am entirely unable to convey any adequate impression of the scene. In taking your last view of the city, as the road winds around a projecting cliff, the whole of the plain on which Nice is situated, with its groves and villas, the torrent in the midst, the fortress overlooking the sea, and the city spread out around it, are lying at your feet. The Mediterranean bounds the distant prospect with its line of deep blue, and you trace the bold head-lands of Antibes, the island of Margurita, and the curving shores of Nice, along which our previous journey had lain for nearly a day. To the north at the termination of the plain, the mountains descend towards the lower hills at their base, not in perpendicular precipices but in long sweeps, at an angle of 60 or 70 degrees. They are composed of limestone of a greyish white color; the trees which once covered them have long since been destroyed; and the tops, and sides near the summit, present a scene of extended desolation. Still farther behind, the mountains do not lie in regular chains or solid masses, but spread themselves back for a great distance towards Piedmont, in peaks many hundred feet high, with vallies or ravines between them. In the shape of those smaller mountains, which constitute the highest elevations of the great chain of the maritime Alps, you meet with every variety of form which the imagination can conceive. One presents a broad and even breast, rising into cliffs a thousand feet high. In another, the side of the mountain is ploughed from top to bottom by deep ravines, frequently of a reddish color, which varies the generally white appearance of the rocks. Scattered here and there, are a multitude of peaks in the form of a regular cone. Sometimes this cone is crowned with ledges of rocks, which rise around the summit like the walls of some ancient castle. In other instances, the breast of the mountain is embossed with long cliffs, which run from top to bottom, and form an exact counter part to the ravines of which I have just spoken. The angle at which these mountains rise from the vallies between, is continually varying. In some cases the rocks spring up almost perpendicularly, and disclose the long succession of layers which constitute the mass of the mountain. In others the ascent is extremely gradual; and thus the face of the mountains is continually changing, as the eye follows their outline along the deep ravines and bold projections. The little vallies at their feet are generally covered with soil, which sometimes rises half or two thirds the way up the mountain's side. Every foot which is capable of cultivation, is carefully cleared of stone. Walls are erected to sup-

port the earth ; and between them are little terraces of ten, twenty or thirty feet in width, in a high state of cultivation. In some instances, you see forty or fifty such rows of wall, with little strips of green which they support, winding along the breast of the mountain. Narrow paths conduct from the vallies below to these small lines of cultivation, and here and there are scattered among them a flock of goats, a few cows which seem to hang to the mountain's side, or a solitary cottage lifting its white walls amidst terraces of green. Along the breast of these mountains our road led us gradually to the summit, sometimes retiring back into a deep ravine which had pierced the mountain from top to bottom ; sometimes standing out from some bold projection on its side. After three hours of constant ascent, we reached the highest ridge which separates the amphitheatre of Nice from the sea on the north east. Here stands an ancient town called Turbia ; remarkable only for a trophy erected to Augustus Cæsar, by the inhabitants of the neighboring country. At the expiration of 1800 years it is still standing, though greatly impaired by time. On a peak rising above the Mediterranean two thousand feet, at the distance of a mile from the water's edge, a circular wall of stone, two hundred feet in diameter, was first erected. The whole interior was filled with small stones and mortar to the height of fifty feet. From this level rose another tower, round like the former but only sixty feet in diameter, to the height of eighty or a hundred feet more. This likewise was filled with a solid mass of stones and mortar. The whole composed a tower of a hundred and forty or a hundred and sixty feet high, on one of the boldest points of the maritime Alps. To those who navigated this part of the Mediterranean, it must have been a very imposing object. So solid was the internal mass of stone and mortar, that although the eastern side of the upper tower has fallen to the ground, the remains lie scattered round the base in great rocks, resembling those called *pudding stone*. From Turbia we began to descend along the side of the mountains, with the sea on our right at the distance of a mile, and still higher mountains rising over our heads to the left. Now and then we discovered below us on the shore, little recesses in the rocks, forming small glens of twenty or thirty acres. At Monaco, two miles from Turbia, we observed a larger one resembling on a small scale, the amphitheatre of Nice. Two or three hundred acres of level ground were covered with olive-yards and vineyards. The terraces on the mountain's side rose quite to the road by which we were passing ; but all above us was silent and desolate. In some instances, as we descended towards the sea, our road sunk back into ravines half a mile deep, from which, when we returned on the opposite side, we had gained scarcely two hundred yards. At these turns in the road we often found a

cross erected, or a little building six feet square and rising to the height of eight feet, with a statue of the Virgin in the upper part. Fountains appeared occasionally on the road, with inscriptions recording the names of those who had founded them for the convenience of travelers. At five o'clock, we reached Mentone, a small town on the shore, where we passed the night.

Rising at six o'clock the next morning, we commenced our journey to Vintimeglia, where we arrived at eleven o'clock. Here our ride of seventy miles on mules, was to commence. This little town is more compact than any which I have yet seen. A great part of the streets will not allow two mules to pass. It seems rather one great building with galleries open at the top, and filthy beyond all description. While at breakfast, we had the same kind of visitant of which Sterne has made so much in one of his works. It was a begging *friar*. He entered the room with a modest air and asked our charity. Each of us gave him a few sous, and he seemed entirely satisfied. It would be well for travelers, if friars were the only persons that intrude on their meals. But in some parts of Italy, it is no uncommon thing for ordinary beggars to enter a coffee house, and importune the guests while at table; and particularly when settling their account. There is a practice in France which is almost equally vexatious—that of women sitting in the taverns with little boxes of cutlery and other elegances, which they open when dinner is half finished, and press on travelers at an extravagant price. Beggary, indeed, is a trade in Italy, and to a considerable extent in France. At the foot of a long hill in every town, and even on the road, you will find a beggar—some miserable object, who follows the coach for half a mile in its ascent—importuning, thrusting himself into the door, with a determination which wearies out the patience of the most stubborn. In one instance, a boy followed me more than a mile with his hat at my side, as I walked before the coach, and nothing, not the strong declarations that I would not give, could induce him to desist. In this way they seem resolved to weary out the patience of travelers. Wretched objects they certainly are, but if we were to give even a sous to all the wretched objects we meet with, we should soon be left without the means of subsistence ourselves.

Soon after our arrival at Vintimeglia, the master of the post presented himself, and finding that we should need nine mules, (seven for ourselves and two for the baggage,) he determined to extort from our necessity, nearly double the ordinary price. We on the other hand were firm in resisting the demand, and declared our determination to walk the whole distance rather than yield, taking only two mules for the baggage and two for the ladies. Finding, at length, that he was likely to gain more by furnishing us with nine mules at a moderate rate, than with four at the price which he first

demanded, the postmaster reduced his charge to twenty francs for each mule with the proper guides, for two days and a half. At twelve o'clock the trunks were fastened on the baggage mules; and we proceeded on foot down a steep hill through the town to a bridge without the walls, where the rest of the mules were in waiting. A little animal about the size of a Shetland poney fell to my lot. The saddle was shaped exactly like those in the days of Hudibras—high before and behind—hard as a board—and nearly worn out by use. Around the neck of the mule was a row of small bells, which jingled at every step. The rest of the equipage was in a similar style. The ladies were mounted in the same way, and found themselves compelled to ride like men, as is common with women in Italy.

You see us, then, mounted on our mules with the baggage in front, winding along the side of the mountains, one behind another, with a man at the side of each of the ladies to support them on their seats, an active boy to whip the mules by turns, and a superintendent to direct our progress. For myself, however, becoming weary of this mode of conveyance, I traveled most of the way on foot; keeping in general a mile or two in advance of the cavalcade, and stopping occasionally to trace them with my eye, in their slow progress over the path which I had already passed. After having followed the road, as it sunk back for half a mile into a ravine, and returned again to almost the same place, I paused for a moment to look across the narrow chasm by which we were separated. My companions were just winding round the point of a high cliff on the opposite side, and passing a rudely shaped cross which rested on the edge of the precipice beneath their feet. On the side which I had gained, stood an old peasant in an attitude which a painter might wish to catch, gazing on the long line as it sunk back into the ravine. Between us lay a gulf three hundred feet deep, with bare rocks rising along the sides to our feet. The bottom was filled with a little meadow, through which ran a small stream from a cascade at the extremity of the ravine. To form a just conception of our road, you will remember that the maritime Alps project boldly over the Mediterranean, for nearly the whole distance from Nice to Genoa. The descent to the sea is not in general absolutely perpendicular, but commonly at an angle of sixty or seventy degrees. Their height is four or five thousand feet; and the slant side of the mountains discovers the successive strata of limestone which compose them, and which are in some instances entirely bare, and in others partially covered with heath. Along this slant side, looking down on the Mediterranean, the road is carried, by cutting down the mountain above and building up below; sometimes half-way up the precipice, sometimes rising to the summit, and sometimes sinking to a narrow strip of beach on the shore. At

times a headland projects directly over the sea, and renders it necessary to seek a passage behind it, through some valley. Again the precipice is too nearly perpendicular to admit of a path being hewn out along its face, and then a wall is carried forty or fifty feet from below to support the road. In other instances, a long ridge of rocks stretches from the summit of the mountains down to the sea, rising twenty, thirty, or sixty feet above the general level of the slant side. Through this a passage must be forced by blasting; and in a multitude of instances the rocks have been thus cut through, leaving a wall of rock on each side, from ten to forty feet high, and from five to twenty yards in length. Between Noli and Finale the most difficult case of this kind occurred. A solid mass of rock rises perpendicularly from the water, two hundred feet above the level of the road at that place. The sea is two hundred feet below, and no ledge could be found on which to erect a wall. No thing remained but to abandon the whole design, or to dig a passage through the solid rock, four hundred feet in length. This was done at an expense of three millions of francs. It is twenty feet wide and almost equally high. Between Savona and Genoa is a similar gallery though much smaller. When the face of the mountain is broken by a ravine, the road follows its windings back to the deepest point, where a solid body of mason work is thrown over the torrent, which is collected at such a point from the mountains. Such in general is the nature of this road for one hundred and twenty miles, from Nice to Genoa.*

After riding three hours in the rain we reached St. Remo, a small town on the sea-shore. Here we observed a great number of palm trees, which grow better in this vicinity than in any part of Italy. Our next day's journey of thirty miles to Oneglia, resembled that of the preceeding day. Every three or four miles we passed a town of two or three thousand inhabitants, which has sprung up on some narrow beach beneath the mountains, or in some ravine which sinks back into the interior. These villages have all the same appearance—narrow streets—the smaller villages extremely filthy—the larger ones containing a few good buildings. The mountains during this day were farther from the sea. The road lay on the side of what may be called hills, eight hundred or a thousand feet high, which intercepted our view of the elevated country beyond them. When we left Oneglia the next morning, the weather was threatening; and we had not proceeded far, when the rain commenced with great severity. There was no alternative, however, and we therefore marched patiently forward under our umbrellas, when the wind would permit us to carry them; and when the gusts

* This road has been rendered passable for carriages, since the above was written.

were too strong, we sat without covering on our mules to be rained on. At Lerino, where we stopped till the rain abated, we passed the first large and regular valley between Nice and Genoa. The scenery was uncommonly beautiful. A rich plain, four miles in diameter wound back into the country, bounded on each side by mountains, some thousand feet in height. It is impossible to describe how finely their outline was varied, sometimes rising into bold peaks covered with snow; sometimes presenting a succession of rounded summits, with a graceful sweep between them; sometimes sending long ridges down their slanting sides to the valley below. A few miles in the back ground, a very lofty mountain stood forth in the middle of the plain, dividing it into smaller valleys, which were lost among the mountains.

Leaving Lerino when the rain abated, we found between Finale and Noli that the mountains close in over the sea, in hanging masses of rock, a thousand or twelve hundred feet high. The road is carried along their face on broken ledges, which barely afford a support for the wall on which the path rests. Above our heads the rocks sprung up perpendicularly, three, four or six hundred feet high, as the road which is cut in their face, rises or sinks. From the edge of the path, we looked down on the sea over precipices of equal depth. In most places, the road is twelve feet wide, but is sometimes narrowed to a bridle path. A part of the way there are parapets to guard the traveler from falling; the rest is left without protection. In one instance while passing around a projecting cliff, the wind and rain which had again commenced, struck my mule with such violence, that he reeled towards the brink of the precipice. I threw myself instantly to the ground on the opposite side, and happily escaped the danger; but for the remainder of the way I preferred to trust myself to my own feet. At four o'clock we reached Noli, completely drenched with rain, and took a coach for Savona, six miles distant, in order to secure a place in the diligence, the next morning, for Genoa.

Leaving Savona the next morning at 7 o'clock, we passed over a road similar to the one which I have already described, except that the mountains are not equally high. Wherever the soil permits, the olive groves run up the sides of the mountain to the very summit, and with some exceptions, indeed, the last sixty miles of our road was highly cultivated. Villages occur every two or three miles on the coast, with no harbor but a sandy beach; on which the large boats of the Mediterranean are drawn up at the present moment, in exactly the manner described by the ancient poets. Back on the summit of the mountains, or clinging to their sides, appear a multitude of small villages. Numerous castles crown the higher peaks, and single villas and cottages are scattered in little white dots among the olive groves. On the shore, the passes of the

mountains are defended by a great number of ancient citadels, which must have been nearly impregnable, before the use of cannon. In some instances, we passed high and rocky islands, about a mile in circumference; which were once held as fortresses by pirates. At twelve we arrived at Genoa.

I am &c.

ART. IV.—REVIEW OF THE ESSAYS OF PHILANTHROPOS ON
PEACE AND WAR. *Prof. Holland.*

Essays of Philanthropos on Peace and War. Second Edition, pp. 173.
12mo. Exeter, New-Hamshire. 1827.

AFTER all that has been written on the subject of war, the christian community have very inadequate ideas of its horrors, or of their own pressing duty to resist this practice. "War is a great evil" says the frigid philanthropist. "It is indeed so," replies the political economist, "it interrupts commerce and wastes the productive industry of a people." Heathen antiquity had the same opinion of war, and scarcely fell short of modern christianity in efforts to arrest it.

The public apathy on a subject involving such wide-spread and overwhelming evils, is most deeply to be deplored. From a vague impression, that these evils cannot be averted, our sympathies have become withered, selfish, and confined. We are more distressed by the loss of a single limb, than by the distant destruction of a nation! Rolling in wealth and the luxuries of a quiet home, we scarcely reflect on the frightful desolations to which other countries are subjected. The thousands who perish in the field of battle, are summed up, published, and spoken of in the intercourse of life, with supreme and guilty apathy. But oh! if a husband, a brother, or a son were among their number, how different would be our sensations! How keen would be our sense of the apathy, which prevails on this subject! Now, we think it is the sacred duty of every man, to free his mind from the delusive influence of mere distance, on a subject of this nature. We ought always to think of war as it really is, as a scene of murder, rapine, and revenge, in the midst of their direful vocation. For this purpose we must descend to particulars; and take the testimony of eye-witnesses as to the details and consequences of a field of battle. Over the field of Waterloo, for example, orators, statesmen, and poets have hung the most gorgeous drapery of military glory. But let us look at the results of this battle as described by the celebrated Dr. Charles Bell, of London, who followed the English army to that scene of carnage, with a view to professional observation and experience.

It was now the *thirteenth* day after the battle. It is impossible for the imagination to conceive the sufferings of men, rudely carried at such a period of their wounds. When I first entered this hospital, these Frenchmen had been roused and excited in an extraordinary degree; and in the glance of their eyes, there was a character of fierceness, which I never thought to have witnessed in the human countenance. They were past the utterance of what, if I might read the countenance, was unsubdued hatred and desire of revenge.

On the second day the temporary excitement had subsided. Turn which way I might, I encountered every form of entreaty from those whose condition left no need of words to stir compassion. "Surgeon Major, *Oh, how I suffer! Dress my wounds, dress my wounds! Doctor, I commend myself to you: cut off my leg. Oh! I suffer too much, too much!*" And when these entreaties were unavailing, you might hear, in a weak, inward voice of despair, "*I shall die; I am a dead man.*" The tones were too true to nature soon to lose their influence. At four in the morning I offered my services; and at six, I entered on the most painful duty of my life, in inspecting and operating upon these unfortunate men. I was thus engaged uninterruptedly, from six in the morning, until seven at night, for three successive days.

I know not what notions my feeling countrymen have of *thirty thousand* wounded men thrown into a town and its environs. They still their compassionate emotions by subscriptions; but what avails this to the wounded, who would gladly exchange gold for a bit of rag.*

Take another scene of more recent date, enacted on the blood stained fields of Greece. We transcribe the words of an eye-witness.

In a few moments, from the balcony where I sat, my attention was attracted by the unusual commotion of the crowd below, which now consisted of four or five thousand; they kept rushing backward and forward, but always tending towards the door of a monastery close by me; one apartment of which served for the office of the marine, and another for the prison, in which were confined a large number of Turkish captives. I asked a Hydriot who sat near me, what was the meaning of the commotion in the crowd; he replied with little emotion, "perhaps going to kill a Turk." His words were scarcely uttered, when the door of the monastery not twenty paces from me, was burst open, and a crowd rushed out, forcing before them a young Turk, of extremely fine appearance, tall, athletic, and well formed. I shall never forget the expression of his countenance at this awful moment. He was driven out almost naked, with the exception of a pair of trowsers, his hands held behind his back, his head thrust forward, and a hell of horror seemed depicted in his face. He made but one step over the threshold when a hundred ataghans were planted in his body; he staggered forward and fell, a shapeless mass of blood and bowels, surrounded by a crowd of his enraged executioners, each eager to smear his knife in the blood of his victim. By this time another wretch was dragged forward and shared the same fate; another and another followed, while I was obliged to remain a horrified spectator of the massacre, as the defenceless wretches were butchered almost at the foot of the stairs by which I must have descended in order to make my escape. Each was in

* *Essays, &c.* p. 81.

turn driven beyond the door, and got a short run through the crowd, and fell piece-meal, till at length the carcase lost all form of humanity, beneath the knives of his enemies. Some few died bravely, never attempting to escape, but falling on the spot where they received the first thrust of ataghans; other weaker wretches made an effort to reach the sea through the crowd, but sunk down beneath a thousand stabs, screaming for mercy, and covering their faces with their gory hands.*

It is thus that we ought ever to look on the destruction of human life. Never should we lessen our impressions of the horror of such scenes, by viewing them in the aggregate; as if to die in the midst of thousands could disarm death of a single pang or shed one ray of consolation on the dark and final scene!

"The first wounded man I ever beheld in the field,"—says one who was present at the battle of Busaco,—“was carried past me at this moment; he was a fine young Englishman in the Portuguese service, and lay helplessly in a blanket, with both his legs shattered by a cannon shot. He looked pale, and big drops of perspiration stood on his manly forehead; but he spoke not—his agony appeared unutterable, I secretly wished him death; a mercy, I believe that was not very long withheld.”†

We will add but one more picture; it is from the “Recollections of a Valetudinarian.”

“One single shot did horrid execution among the marines by striking a stand of arms, and killing or wounding several men with the splinters. I shall not easily forget a poor corporal of marines who had *both his arms and both his legs shot off*, as he was elevating a carronade on the poop. It is now twenty years ago, yet the poor man’s countenance is as plainly before me at this moment, as if it were only yesterday, as he was carried past me to be lowered down the hatchway to the surgeons below. He bore the amputation of three of his limbs, and died under the operation on the fourth!”

Such, for nearly six thousand years, have been the sufferings inflicted by man upon his fellow man. On a moderate estimate *fourteen thousand millions* of human beings, have already perished in war. Within the present generation *five millions six hundred thousand* are known to have been swept off by its rage. In the wars of Napoleon alone, it is estimated that at least *three millions* of the French people were destroyed!‡

But there are other evils consequent on war, equivalent in horror and extent to the loss of human life. The honest arts of peace are abandoned. The husbandman, the mechanic, and the

* See Howe’s Greek Revolution, p. 258.

† Recollections of the Peninsula.

‡ See the elements of these estimates, and other striking facts, in Dick’s Philosophy of Religion, p. 307, et seq.

merchant are drawn from the field, the work-shop, and the counting-house. Poverty, famine, and distress ensue. A mental and moral desolation, disheartening to the philanthropist, and fatal to religion, civilization and virtue, follows upon the loss of paternal guidance and instruction, and the interruption of the well regulated institutions of society. Taxes multiply, national and individual debts accumulate, commerce is annihilated, and the very sinews of the community—the heads of families—the sturdy yeomanry of middle life are thinned out, and either perish in the carnage of battle, or sink sorrowing into the grave, the unmourned and unremembered victims of heavy marches, overpowering labors, dangerous exposure, and unspeakable distress !

How dreadfully do we find these evils increased, when we turn to the country which is the theatre of war. Age, sex, beauty, innocence, and virtue, are no protection there. The loss of life and the tortures of bodily pain, become secondary evils. The hellish passions which possess the human heart at such times, are beyond the power of language to describe. Desolated Greece presents us with a picture.

We need not ask what are the causes of this awful devastation and distress. The Creator of the universe has not made war a necessary condition of our existence, an unavoidable element in our wretched pilgrimage on earth. War, we all know, flows from the dreadful passions of man, ambition, avarice, revenge, and lust of power. Look at *two hundred and eighty-six* wars of magnitude, in which *christian* nations have been engaged. We find in the enumeration given by the Massachusetts Peace Society,

- 44 Wars of ambition to obtain extent of country.
- 22 Wars for plunder, tribute, etc.
- 24 Wars of retaliation and revenge.
- 8 Wars to settle some question of honor or prerogative.
- 6 Wars arising from disputed claims to some territory.
- 41 Wars arising from disputed titles to crowns.
- 30 Wars commenced under pretense of assisting an ally.
- 23 Wars originating in jealousy of rival greatness.
- 5 Wars which have grown out of commerce.
- 55 Civil wars.
- 28 Wars on account of religion, including the Crusades against the Turks and heretics.

To which the intelligent author of "Essays on Peace and War," subjoins,—

The war of Spain against the liberty of her colonies.

The war of Austria to extinguish the liberty of Naples.

The war of France against the liberty of Spain.

The war of the Turks against the Greeks.

Great numbers of petty wars, insurrections and trivial hostilities are omitted.

Now the question which we would submit to our readers, in view of the foregoing facts, is this. Is a man to be considered as a weak enthusiast, who deplores such a state of things, and is anxious to discover a remedy for these accumulated evils? Ought a society whose sole object is to hold before the public a true picture of war, and to impress the minds of all with a just horror of its consequences, as a motive for rulers to try every means of averting so dreadful a calamity, and for christians to pray more earnestly that wars may cease on earth, and for freemen to decide that their property and lives shall no longer be wasted in guilty contests—ought a society of this kind to be considered as useless, and suffered to languish for want of patronage and support? We are not now considering the question, whether resistance may not be justifiable, when rendered absolutely necessary in self-defense. The American Peace Society, which we are anxious to recommend to the efficient support of our readers, does not decide this question. It invites the whole community to meet on one common ground, that of endeavoring to impress the public mind with a salutary dread and horror of the practice of war. This practice if ever abolished can be abolished only by the deep conviction and united consent of mankind. This conviction and consent must be produced by the patient and gradual efforts of philanthropists *on individuals*: into these units of the grand whole, must the spirit of peace be infused. An effectual remedy for war is not to be expected from the rulers and great men of the earth. These must rather be coerced into peace by the controlling opinion of the people. The mass of the people presents the first field of effort. The old must be brought by conviction and the young by education, into proper feelings of abhorrence for this inhuman and unnatural practice. The community must feel that wars are ruinous, unnecessary and wicked; and that peace is a practicable duty, enjoined by a regard to national and individual happiness, and by the command of God.

We have said that the old must be convinced. The means of conviction are the circulation of correct information and pacific principles, by associations, periodicals, tracts, and personal intercourse. What has already been done in this way, may not be known to all. In 1828 the American Peace Society was organized in the city of New-York, concentrating in a national institution, more than fifty subordinate societies. The earliest of these subordinate societies was formed in that city in August, 1815. During the same year, similar associations were formed in Massachusetts and Ohio, and others have since been organized in several other States.

In London, the "Society for promoting permanent and universal

sal peace," was organized in July, 1816; and in France, the "Society of Christian Morals," aiming at the same end, and embracing the most eminent philanthropists of that country, went into operation in 1821.

In explanation of the principles on which these societies are formed, we present the first article of the constitution of the American Peace Society, and subjoin an extract from their circular in 1828.

"Art. 1. The objects of the Society shall be, to diffuse light respecting the evils of war, and the best means of effecting its abolition."

After describing the origin of the Society, the circular says, "we come next to our *principles*."

We believe the custom of war to be contrary to the principles of the christian religion, subversive of the liberty of mankind, and destructive of happiness; a horrible custom which every one is called upon to do what he can to abolish. These truths we hold to be undisputed, and they are the foundation of our society. Nevertheless we draw no dividing or distinguishing line. We do not, as a society, agitate the question whether defensive war can be carried on, on christian principles.

We receive into our communion all who seek the abolition of war, whether they hold to the lawfulness of defensive war, or condemn all war, in every shape—whether they allow a latitude of construction to the injunctions of our Savior, or take the exact and strict letter of them.

We endeavor to avoid all "doubtful disputation," and to walk peaceably with all who will walk with us, whether they go farther, or not so far as the majority of the society.

The American Peace Society publishes a valuable monthly tract,* and several of the subordinate societies publish annual reports. The Essays on Peace and War, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, are understood to be from the pen of Mr. Wm. Ladd; a gentleman who has devoted his personal exertions, and the income of a liberal fortune, for many years, almost exclusively to the cause for which we are pleading. His zeal, intelligence, and perseverance, amid the discouragements of public and private apathy, have largely contributed to the results already obtained, and will hereafter, we believe, place his name on the same immortal roll with that of Howard, and Wilberforce, and Clarkson.

The Essays are written with great vigor and clearness, and in a direct and earnest style which evinces the sincerity of the writer. We know not how any candid man can peruse them, without having his eyes opened to a proper view of this subject.

These are some of the means already in operation. We wish to see their operation extended. We wish to see the societies for the

* The Harbinger of Peace,—directed by Mr. Wm. Ladd.

promotion of peace, embrace every member of the community. We wish to see the true nature of war exposed to every eye, and echoed in every ear. The body of the people must be led to reflect that the horrors of war fall on themselves, while its glories and rewards are engrossed by their leaders. For

"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,
Kings could not play at,"—

To place its horrors in a proper light will go far towards correcting its evils. Revolutions in public opinion, equally important, have been effected by similar means. The superstitions of former years have been shaken off; the slave-trade has been branded with infamy, and forbidden by penalties; the spirit of liberty has been breathed into whole nations; and, more recently, intemperance has received a blow, which, we trust, will check its ravages. Not another evil remains so tremendous as war. And it is surely not extravagant to believe, that when the bulk of mankind are brought fairly to appreciate its evils, and the corresponding blessings of peace, self-interest and the commands of God will prevail over the impulse of angry passions.

We said that the old must be convinced; we would add, the young must be educated into a proper abhorrence of this unnatural practice. We insist that essential modifications ought to be introduced into the present plans of early education, with reference to this great object. It is in childhood, that ambition, avarice, revenge, and hatred—those passions which give an impulse to the spirit of destruction—may be most effectually restrained and subdued. A solemn duty devolves on parents—it is well pointed out in the Essays on Peace and War.

The course of education, from infancy to manhood, at present pursued, tends to inspire the mind with military ardor and a *love of glory*. Almost as soon as the boy is born, care is taken to give his mind a military turn. The first playthings given him are miniature guns, trumpets, and drums; with pewter soldiers and wooden swords. Ah fond mother! little do you think, while you dress the head of your forward urchin with the paper cap, and arm him with some mock instrument of death, and delight to see him march around your parlor to a military tune, affecting the manners of the soldier, little do you think that you are giving his tender mind a wrong direction, and making impressions which may last forever.

As soon as boys leave the lap of their mothers, and begin to play out of doors, the first plaything they have, in a sea-port, is a miniature man of war. If they live in the country, some old pistol barrel is mounted to imitate a field piece. In both town and country, but most in towns, boys are encouraged to form themselves into infantry companies, to shoulder wooden guns, and to elect officers.

The first pictures presented to a youthful eye are of sieges, and battles and naval engagements, in which the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" are portrayed in lively colors. The youth, conscious of his own safety, fancies he sees the fire and smoke, hears the neighing and pran-

cing of horses, the report of cannon and small arms, the clangor of trumpets, the deep and thrilling tones of martial music, and the shouts of victory. He feels a sensation he can neither describe nor account for, and longs to be in the conflict. If he sees a statue, it is generally that of some great warrior in military habiliments, trampling on a fallen enemy. The productions of the pencil and the chisel always represent to a nation its victories, and never its defeats. These would tend to allay, as much as those to inflame military ardor.

Almost all the great processions which a boy sees, are of a military nature. He attends the musters, and reviews, and sham fights. His infant mind is inflamed by the splendor of the uniforms, the glitter of the accoutrements, the pomp and parade of military evolutions and martial music; and he feels a strong desire to be an actor in the scene. He has an idea of the dangers of war sufficient to make it interesting, but not enough to disgust. Our rage for military display is carried so far, that even our processions at academical exhibitions and college commencements, are marshalled by an officer with a drawn sword and sash; and our reverend fathers, the faculty, trustees, overseers, and clergy, only want a musket and knapsack, to transform them into a company of militia.

At eighteen years of age, our youth is made to shoulder a musket and appear "armed at all points" at a rendezvous; which is generally at or near a *grogshop*, where he may learn to get drunk, swear, and fight, and thus complete his destruction.

It is the duty of every mother, of every father, and of every instructor of youth, to educate children in a manner very different from the prevailing custom. It is the duty of every individual, of both sexes and of all ages, but especially is it incumbent on public teachers, to hold up to general execration the guilty destroyers of the human race. At least it is their duty, on all suitable occasions, to give their testimony against the custom of war. Those who neglect this duty are chargeable with conniving at murder and robbery; but "he who saith unto the wicked Thou art righteous; him shall the people curse; nations shall abhor him."

We take this occasion to say, that whatever may be thought of preparing a country for self-defense, nothing is more useless or preposterous than the military parades and reviews, which disfigure and disturb our otherwise peaceful hamlets, while the evils to which they give rise are numerous and great. The subduction of industrious men from their employments, the exposure to intemperance, profanity, debauchery and riot; the expense of equipage and dress; the interruption of sober industry; and the depravation of public morals, occasioned by these reviews, call loudly for an immediate reform. Add to this the spirit of military pride and self-consequence imbibed by the actors in the farce; the giddy exaltation of feeling excited by its empty honors, and the interruption which its annoyance occasions to schools, shops of labor, and all quiet employments, and we have an aggregate of evil which it is astonishing the community are willing to endure. But the evil stops not here. The floating banners, the embroidered coats, the glittering arms, and the nodding plumes, present a display, which operates like the exhilarating draughts of the chemist,

on the youthful mind. The intoxication of one such scene, unsettles the sober habits, established by months of industry. The seeds of military ambition are planted in the youthful breast, which will grow up like tares in manhood, to choke out moral principles and amiable feelings. Even if the immediate temptations to profanity and intemperance are resisted, there is acquired a distaste for the dull routine of labor, an uneasiness, impatience, and discontent, which poison the enjoyments of peaceful life.

The influence of military reviews on adult society, has often been remarked with regret ; but their effect on children, is too little considered. If parades *are* necessary, if military organization must be preserved, strip them at least of their incongruous tinsel and their empty pageantry. Instead of the features of a triumphant festival, let them assume the habiliments becoming their melancholy destination ; let then be regarded as the unwelcome task imposed by the awful outbreaking of human passion ; and let their marches appear, as they truly are, processions to the grave !

Again, we further contend, that the common use of fire arms, and an indulgence in cruel sports, go to stifle humane feelings, and to cherish an exterminating spirit. It is a serious question with a man of nice morality, whether animal life can rightly be taken for amusement. The most cruel of the Roman Emperors made it his characteristic sport to catch and torture flies. Is the torture of insects, fishes, birds, and small game, a less decisive indication of an unfeeling heart ? It is cruel, if not wicked, to cut short the silent enjoyment which these beautiful creatures take in existence, the only existence they are ever to enjoy.

Indulgence in cruel sports at least steels the heart in cruelty. They whose vocations require the constant sacrifice of animal life, cease to feel for the pain of their speechless victims. The hardened cruelties of this class of men, are proverbially painful to any person of sensibility. Yet the murders of the sportsman have not the same apology of necessity, and are often more remorselessly cruel, than the executions of the slaughter house. Cruel sports were the hot-beds of Roman ferocities; they have ever been the characteristics of a savage age. Let parents shield their children from such an influence.

We have thus briefly pointed out some of the evils of war, its causes and effects, and the means by which we believe it may be banished from the earth. Those means are simple—we believe they are adequate. “The abolition of war,” says Dr. Chalmers, “will be the effect not of any sudden and resistless visitation from heaven on the character of men ;—not of any mystical influence, working with all the omnipotence of a charm on the passive hearts of those who are the subjects of it ;—not of any blind or overruling fatality, which will come upon the earth at some distant

period of its history, and about which we of the present day, have nothing to do but to look silently on, without concern and without co-operation. The prophecy of a peace, as universal as the spread of the human race, and as enduring as the moon in the firmament, will meet its accomplishment; aye, and at that very time which is already fixed by Him who seeth the end of all things from the beginning thereof. But it will be brought about by the activity of man. It will be done by the philanthropy of thinking, intelligent christians."*

We shall no doubt be told that war is an evil, but yet an unavoidable and necessary evil. To this we answer, that whatever opinion may be held with regard to the necessity of war in *any* case, it cannot be denied, that a vast majority of those which do actually occur, are neither unavoidable nor necessary. We refer our readers to the list of wars and their causes, in the early part of our remarks, and without discussing the abstract question, whether universal peace is practicable, we plead for the discontinuance of those, which are *clearly unnecessary and avoidable*. First let *these* be banished from the earth, and we shall be the better prepared to encounter those which have their origin in necessity.

But it is not a question of mere expediency that we bring home to the conscience of the christian. His religion commands peace and forbids war. How awfully has that religion been dishonored by the wars of its professed disciples! It is said that the Emperor of China, in forbidding christian missionaries access into his dominions, gave as a reason, that "*christians have whitened with human bones, all the countries into which they have been admitted.*" How just a reproof! how humiliating from the mouth of a pagan!

We shall conclude our remarks with an eloquent extract from the circular of the American Peace Society, of 1828.

If we are asked what are our EXPECTATIONS? we answer, that we hope, by God's blessing on the means he has granted us, by the assistance of foreign peace societies, and by the aid of the benevolent of every name and nation, to bring about a more pacific spirit among christians, than has ever before existed since the decay of primitive christianity; to create both at home and abroad, in the public taste, a disgust of war and a relish for peace—to lessen the causes, and frequency of war.—We hope to increase and promote the practice already begun, of submitting national differences to amicable discussion and ARBITRATION; and finally, of settling all national controversies by appeal to reason, as becomes rational creatures, and not by physical force, as is worthy only of brute beasts; and that this shall be done by a CONGRESS of christian nations, whose decrees shall be enforced by public opinion that rules the world.

* Thoughts on universal peace. p. 7.

By speaking and printing, Wilberforce and Clarkson unclasped the clutch of avarice, one of the strongest passions of our nature, and, as their own country is concerned, the slave-trade was abolished; yet half a century ago, the abolition of the slave-trade was more improbable than the abolition of war is now.

The success of older philanthropists, points out the MEANS to be used by us, which are the same as those of other benevolent societies of the day; particularly those formed for the abolishing slavery, intemperance, and dueling; the distribution of tracts, the formation of auxiliary societies, the public speaking of such ministers and laymen as favor our cause, and the prayers of christians.

We rest our HOPES on the force of truth and on the ROCK OF AGES—on the promise of the immutable JEHOVAH who has declared, that the time shall come when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more, and confirmed it with an oath, *for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it*, and given us the means of accomplishing that promise.

With this reliance we appeal to the feelings of the philanthropist, and we demonstrate to him, that war has broken more hearts than he has ever bound up, and made more cripples and widows and orphans than he has ever relieved.

We appeal to the political economist, and show that war dries up the sources of a nation's wealth, and burdens it with taxes for many generations.

We appeal to the patriot, and particularly to the *republican* patriot, while we point to the ruins of those republics, that have thrown away their liberty in pursuit of military glory.

We appeal to the lover of the arts and sciences, and show him how war has swept away, as with the besom of destruction, the chef d'œuvres of the ancients, leaving not a vestige of their painting, but a few mutilated monuments of their sculpture, and here and there an isolated column of their architecture; and the library of the world has supplied fuel for the camp.

We beseech all these to grant us their attention, their countenance, and their assistance, while we labor in their own cause.

But most of all, we appeal to the piety of the christian, while we beg his prayers, his services, and his alms; for the cause of his Master and his Redeemer is our cause. He blessed the peace-maker; and will his disciple, for whom he shed his blood, do nothing to obtain his blessing?

We appeal to you, *ministers of the gospel of peace*. Do you excuse yourselves, by saying that you already preach the gospel, which is sufficient to bring about the millennium, and that therefore there is no need of peace societies. We demand an answer to these two plain questions. If the gospel does indeed allow nations to settle their differences by an appeal to arms, how can the preaching of the gospel produce peace? and if the gospel does not allow of war, why are not christians told so? Why, since the present generation came on the stage of action, have five millions and sixty thousand men, bearing the christian name, been sacrificed by christians, so called, on the bloody altar of Moloch, at the shrine of military glory.

The gospel has been preached, without the help of peace societies, for now these eighteen hundred years, and it has not yet produced peace among its followers, if we except the three first ages of the church, "when the lamp of christianity burnt bright." Now try the aid of peace societies, and grant us your assistance, your influence, and your prayers.

We appeal to you who were "last at the cross, and earliest at the grave

of our Great Master." Oh! could you witness the misery of your sex, in the warlike states of Europe, where so many men have been consumed in war, and left an equal number of women to want, and what is infinitely worse, to vice and degradation, your hearts would bleed. Remember that the same causes which produced this misery and vice in the old world, will, if unresisted, produce them in the new. Then plead for peace, for "who can plead like you." "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

ART. V.—REVIEW OF LETTERS ON MISSIONS.

B. Green

Letters on Missions, by WILLIAM SWAN, *Missionary to Siberia. With an introductory preface by WILLIAM ORME, foreign secretary to the London Missionary Society.* London: 1830.

THE prejudice is by far too prevalent, we fear, even among professed christians, that missionaries to the heathen are bound by obligations altogether *peculiar*, to devote themselves to the interests of the church. The wealthy "disciple," who makes it a leading object of his exertions to accumulate an inheritance for his children, is full of apprehension, that the trifling fractions, which he may have contributed to the missionary fund, may not be applied to the support of men, sufficiently devoted to their work. His next door neighbor, a fellow member of the church, is athirst for honorable distinction. At a single party of pleasure, he expends ten times more than he gives during a year to all the benevolent designs, which attract his attention and solicit his assistance. Yet this man can speak with promptness, fluency, and animation on the obligations of the christian missionary, to devote himself to his appropriate work, with a self-denied spirit, with unshrinking resolution, and untiring perseverance! And professors of religion, generally, as "one goes to his farm and another to his merchandize," sternly demand of their brethren, who go forth to the "ends of the earth" to impart the bread of life to the famishing pagans, high-souled endeavors and strenuous exertions in their appropriate sphere of usefulness. Now, we beg to be informed on what page of the sacred volume are we taught, that upon christian missionaries obligations and self-denial and exertions are imposed, altogether peculiar in their character. We have read, and read with thrilling interest, the declaration of the Savior addressed to the multitude around him; "*whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.*" But on what principles of interpretation this startling assurance is applied exclusively to the christian missionary, we are at a loss to determine. In what system of hermeneutics are we to look for the rule, that whenever in the new testament self-denial and

exhausting efforts are enjoined, the general term "disciple" has a specific application to the missionary to the heathen? The truth is, that every christian is held by obligations, sacred and strong; obligations, which, like an adamantine chain, bind him to the throne of the Messiah, to consecrate his entire being—whatever he is and hath—to the service of his Savior. These obligations, he may refuse cordially and practically to acknowledge, or he may resist their force; but he cannot break away from their controlling power. No agency beneath the throne of God, can free him from their binding influence. In whatever plan he may form, in whatever enterprise he may engage, in whatever method he may propose to expend his time and exhaust his strength, it is his sacred duty, cordially to aim, and earnestly to endeavor, to glorify the Savior, and build up the church. To this great end, all his powers and resources are to be perpetually devoted. For the glory of Christ, for the upbuilding of the church, he is to live, and move, to think, and act. In this one design—so animating and sublime—he is to be wholly and everlastingly absorbed.

To this doctrine, an objection is sometimes started, in the form of such inquiries as the following. What then would you have us do? Would you have us literally bring our farms and merchandize, and place them in the missionary fund? Would you have all the members of the church abandon their respective spheres of exertion, and go forth as missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters to the pagans? Not we. We would say to the christian husbandman, You are bound to devote to the service of your Savior, not only your property, but also your skill and strength. Move on, then, in the appropriate sphere, in which a wise Providence has placed you. The training you have received, and the habits you have formed, qualify you to break up the fallow ground, and to reap the golden harvest. You ought, then, to retain in your possession a field of exertion, which may give all your powers full play. This you could not do, if you should literally, and at once, bring all your substance, and place it in the missionary fund. But while you see to it, that all your powers have room fully to exert themselves in your appropriate sphere of labor, see to it also that in this very sphere you act as the servants of Jesus Christ. As the servants of Jesus Christ cultivate the soil, sow your seed, and gather in your harvests. Let the inscription shine on all your possessions, *Sacred to the Savior.* Let the full import of this inscription, come home with animating power to your inmost heart. Derive from it your highest motives to exertion. In every plan, effort, and expenditure, act with honest and entire reference to the will and glory of your Lord.

To the christian, engaged in a secular profession or held by civil responsibilities, we would say, Your duty to your Lord may not

require you to break away from these responsibilities, or abandon that profession. But you are bound to act in the sphere in which you move, with a devotedness to Jesus Christ, as simple, cordial, and entire, as that of the self-denied and heavenly minded missionary. No more than he, may you adopt worldly maxims, or breathe a worldly spirit. Whatever influence your learning, talents, or station may enable you to command, be it your constant aim with skill, fidelity, and energy, to exert them for your Redeemer. "Give arm and soul" to the one great design of defending the truths, which fall from His lips; of sustaining the institutions which He set up; and extending the kingdom which He established. Indeed, the principles, motives, and aims, which should occupy the thoughts, engross the affections, and control the movements of the christian missionary, are just the principles, which should govern the lives; are just the motives, which should influence the hearts; are just the aims, which should command all the active powers, of every disciple of Jesus Christ.

In consistency with these views, we are prepared to affirm, that all the disciples of the Savior are held to each other by the bonds of the strictest fellowship. They are partners together in one great enterprise,—an enterprise *one* in its objects, aims, and interests, but in its departments of exertion, involving various, numerous, and complicated agencies. Every christian is bound to seek and find, and occupy his own appropriate department of exertion. To attempt this with success, he must, in the spirit "of grace and supplication," look within him and around him. A regard to the character of the means, placed at his command, including his physical, intellectual and moral attributes, and the arrangements of an overruling Providence may enable him to determine what station he ought to occupy, and in what methods he ought to expend his strength. This statement very naturally leads us to the inquiry, By what qualifications should the christian missionary be distinguished?

When we say, that no one ought to think of engaging personally in the missionary service of the church, without a careful regard to his physical qualifications, we refer not so much to the sound constitution and vigorous health, which he certainly ought to possess, as to the habit by which he ought to be distinguished of promptly avoiding whatever is fitted to injure his health, and of wakefully employing whatever is adapted to maintain it. We will not conceal the gratification, which we cannot but feel in the exertions, which have been lately made in one quarter and another to rouse the christian student to his obligations to watch over the physical nature, with which he is intrusted. Let the warning fall upon his ear like repeated claps of thunder, Beware how you neglect the corporeal frame-work, with which all your intellectual operations are so

closely connected. Let this frame-work molder by sloth, or be shaken by excess, or be crushed by overstrained exertion, and you are lost to the cause, to which you might otherwise have been long and usefully devoted. If you do not go down to an early grave, you will be a dead man, while you seem to live. Oh, how many departed ones have been lamented as martyrs to excessive application, who have died, "as the fool dieth," the miserable victims of indolence and luxury! The missionary enterprise demands men of a widely different stamp,—men, who have consecrated their *bodies* as well as their souls, a *living* sacrifice to Jesus Christ,—men, who will spare no pains to preserve their lives and health unimpaired, that they may toil long, and vigorously, and joyfully for their Savior. It demands men, who will give such attention to exercise, to cleanliness, to diet, as their physical necessities require. For our part we do not wish to see missionaries toil on, when exhausted nature pleads for repose. We dread to see them encounter hardships, which threaten to crush them in an hour. We think there is positive guilt in exposing themselves to dangerous precipices, devouring volcanos, and deadly malaria. We cannot reckon it among the virtues of David Brainerd or Henry Martyn, though their memory is as sweet to us as the dew of heaven, that they subjected themselves to trials which so soon exhausted all their strength, and snatched them so prematurely away from the abodes of misery, which they were blessing by their labors of love. We wish to see missionaries go forth to the field of their exertion with such habits, as may by the blessing of a gracious Providence insure them a long, a useful, and a happy life. But this cannot be, unless their physical habits are of a healthful tendency.

On the intellectual qualifications, appropriate to the missionary work, we have a few hints, which we shall venture to suggest in this connection. In our apprehension, it is idle talk, to say how much or how little actual information will answer the demands of such a service. We have no patience, we frankly acknowledge, with those rabbis, who teach, that for intellectual qualifications, the missionary only needs to acquire "the knowledge of history and of the present state of mankind," or a "knowledge of English, and of chemistry, in its simplest form, as applicable to daily phenomena, and daily uses." Whether his office demands of the christian missionary much or little learning; whether the riches of science or the refinements of literature are more appropriate to his design; or whether both united should belong to his intellectual acquisitions, are points, which we shall not undertake to settle. But we shall venture strongly to affirm, that the missionary should have received so much *mental discipline*, as may enable him to employ his powers in his proper office, with promptness, decision, and effect. And we add, without scruple or hesitation, that so much

discipline he cannot in ordinary circumstances have received, without acquiring a considerable amount of most valuable knowledge. At all events, his mind must have been raised to such a state, as to place within his reach those acquisitions, whatever they may be, which the prosecution of his work demands.

Some men dream, that the acquisition of foreign tongues—a task, for which the foreign missionary should of course be prepared—requires little else than the exercise of a ready and tenacious memory. This is a delusion, in which no philologist ever yet indulged. Which of the various states of mind, we are ready to ask, that are requisite to successful effort in any department of study, do not philological pursuits demand? A good memory, it is admitted, will be brought into full and profitable exercise. But this is not the only power, which must be tasked. A constant necessity will be laid upon the mind to exercise, as far as possible, a nice discrimination, a correct taste, a lively imagination, a sound judgment. The translation of one of Esop's fables, will often carry the tyro through the very same states of mind, through which the subtle jurist passes in deciding an intricate law-question. This statement it would be easy to illustrate and support, by giving an analytical view of the process, through which the mind must pass in making any philological acquisitions. But we forbear. To us, it is most evident, that the strongest and most cultivated mind will find on missionary ground, full play for all its powers in the study of the foreign and perhaps imperfect languages, which may claim its attention. The discipline afforded by merely reading history and observing chimical experiments, *may be* very ill adapted to prepare the missionary for the arduous services in which he is to be employed.

The prejudice ought not for a moment to be indulged, that because the heathen are involved in thick moral darkness, small intellectual acquisitions, and slight mental effort, will be requisite to furnish them with appropriate instruction. Facts, stubborn and notorious, decisively evince, that they are often distinguished for shrewdness, sagacity, and acumen; for skill and ability, if not in defending their own superstitions, in giving point, and force, and effect to plausible objections to christian truth. Missionaries must stand constantly prepared, not only to expose the absurdities and wickedness of idolatry; but also adroitly to repel whatever attacks may be made upon the gospel, and to exhibit it before the eyes of the heathen in all its native beauty and glory. We much doubt, whether less talent, and skill, and address are requisite to impress the truths of the bible on the dark minds of pagans, and the uninformed minds of children,* than are requisite to successful efforts

* Respecting the efforts, which are requisite to furnish instruction, adapted to the minds of children, we rejoice in the indications, which show, that a salu-

in furnishing religious instruction to cultivated intellects. The mortifying statement of Buchanan ought not soon to be forgotten ; "I have sometimes been ashamed to see the christian missionary put to silence by the intelligent Bramin, on some point relating to the eastern nations, or to the present state of mankind." And we apprehend, there are on heathen ground communities, where ignorance of the leading principles of philological or natural science in a missionary, would operate equally to the discredit of the christian cause.

And what shall we say in this connection of the labor of translating portions of the sacred scriptures into other languages? To those, who, with any proper qualifications, have attempted for themselves to translate a single chapter, nay a single paragraph of the old or new testament into good, idiomatic English, we need not utter a syllable, to create the fullest conviction in their minds, that the task is at once in a high degree arduous, difficult, and delicate. To others, who on such subjects are chiefly influenced by the authority of names, we would say, What think ye of a work, which gave full exercise to all the powers, and drew forth all the resources of such a man, as MARTIN LUTHER? What if you had seen him intensely engaged hour after hour, and day after day, in tracing the relations of a single particle, that he might fully, clearly, and accurately apprehend its meaning, and give it an appropriate place and just expression? You need not be reminded that this reformer was well nigh crushed with the weight of cares and labors, which the welfare of "all the churches" imposed upon him. You would regard the argument as most superfluous, which should be employed to prove, that Martin Luther was in the highest sense of the phrase, a practical man. You would frown on the writer, who in the most distant manner should drop the intimation, that Luther could waste his time and strength in literary trifling. Judge then, from his unwearyed, exhausting labors, how great a task it must be to translate the bible. But this task, when undertaken by the missionary must be still more difficult, delicate, and perplexing, from the necessity often imposed upon him of actually *creating* no small part of the language, into which the sacred text is to be rendered. Appropriate helps and learned friends are often at too great a distance to be consulted. The responsibility of preparing "the word of the Lord" for the pagans ;—almost alone, with few good books, in a foreign language, imperfect it may be in its structure, poor in appropriate words, and unsettled in the use of terms, might well fill

tary change is going on in the public sentiment. We rejoice to see some of the best talents and most cultivated intellects, skilfully and successfully employed in the noble work of teaching the young how to think, and feel, and act. Such names as *Gallaudet*—we wish there were many such—we love to see on the title-pages of the books, which we put into the hands of our children.

the most gigantic and accomplished mind with painful apprehensions. No man, competent to estimate the magnitude of such a work, could attempt it without intense anxiety and a trembling hand. And is this the work to be committed to uncultivated, unpractised minds? We know of no words of sufficient strength and point, to furnish the rebuke, which such a careless disregard of the highest interests of the church deserves. The missionary work demands the most vigorous, well-furnished, and highly disciplined intellects, which can be found among the ministers of religion. Let men, enriched with such gifts, be anxiously sought for and fully employed, in the sublime design of evangelizing the nations.

And here we must be permitted to say, that it is with heart-felt and lively satisfaction, we contemplate the intellectual character and literary acquirements of many of the men, who have gone forth on errands of mercy to the heathen world, under the direction of the American Board of Foreign Missions. With a number of these individuals, it was our delightful privilege to be intimately acquainted. And certainly, they were surpassed by very few of their companions in study, in the glorious enthusiasm, the wakeful diligence, and distinguished success, with which in preparing for their sacred office, they devoted themselves to intellectual pursuits. High stations of literary responsibility in their own country, they were well prepared to occupy with honor to themselves and advantage to those around them. Nor have these men since they entered upon the appropriate field of their labors, disappointed our expectations. Their official labors, so far as they have met the public eye, have been strongly marked by weighty thought and rich illustration; by appropriateness, impressiveness, and power.*

There is another class of missionary qualifications, to which, it may not be uncharitable to doubt, whether sufficient attention has been paid by those, who propose to engage in the work of proclaiming the gospel to the heathen; on which, a sufficient stress may not always have been laid by their instructors and directors. We now refer to what we shall call, without pretending to speak with philosophical exactness, the *social* qualities, requisite for missionary life. The nature of their design, and the field of their exertions, will often require missionaries and their families to live to-

* One of the most distinguished judicial officers of the British government in India, stated to the conductor of this work, that during a long residence in Hindoostan, he had never met with missionaries or religious teachers, who were so well qualified for their work as the American missionaries. A similar testimony to the ability and judgment of our missionaries in Ceylon, was given in very strong terms by a scientific gentleman in the service of the East India Company.

gether. They must do this amidst multiplied privations and severe self-denials. They will have occasion for an exhaustless fund of meekness, patience, and cheerfulness. Much of a yielding, accommodating, forbearing and forgiving spirit they will need in their mutual intercourse with each other. Though in saying so, we may provoke a smile in our readers, we do not hesitate to affirm, that missionaries should be greatly distinguished for *good nature*. This quality when modified and sweetened by the "grace of God," will spread perpetual sunshine around them. We hope we shall not appear arrogant, if we say, that when our thoughts have followed the candidate for missionary employment into his closet, we have been tempted to wish, that we could infuse into his heart the spirit of such inquiries, as the following. Perhaps at your father's hearth, you belonged to a considerable circle of brothers and sisters. What influence had your conduct upon that interesting and beloved circle? Did you breath upon them the spirit of forbearance, amity, and love; or were you peevish, hasty, and domineering? Did you secure for yourself their confidence and affection; or did they look upon you with aversion, suspicion, and distrust? And since you began to cherish hope in the mercy of the Savior, of what stamp has been the social intercourse, existing between yourself and your friends? In what light were you regarded by your companions in study? How did you act your part amid the scenes of *domestic life*? Have "little things" been apt to "put you out;" to make you querulous and unhappy? Are you prone to look upon the "dark side" of every transaction and event? Are you prompt, rigid, unyielding in exacting every iota of what you deem your right? Are you overbearing, positive, or vehement in maintaining your opinions? Are you fond in your connection with others of having the "pre-eminence?" Do you love to talk about yourself? Are you "particular," nice, fastidious in the accommodations, you demand? These and such as these are questions, which every one, who would engage in the missionary work, ought frequently to ponder, ought carefully to weigh, ought rightly to determine.

If in touching upon missionary qualifications, we do not dwell long on the unutterable value of *cordial, earnest, and consistent piety*, the reason may be found, not in any slight sense we may be supposed to have of the necessity of this qualification; but in the frequency, felicity, and power, with which this point has been illustrated and enforced. We scarcely need repeat what has been often said, and what cannot be too deeply felt, that warm, lively, devoted love to God our Savior, and a tender, genuine, compassion for the souls of men are the very foundation of the missionary character. These are the very warp of the web. Their sweet influence must reach and modify every other attribute. They must

shine through the whole man, or with strong emphasis it may be asserted, "he is not fit for the kingdom of heaven." Let every one, who would engage in the missionary work, see to it above all things, that his whole spirit be penetrated, moved, and "constrained by love of Christ."

The attributes, we have touched upon, very naturally result in that *decision of character*, which under the government of God both prompts and enables one to "expect and attempt great things." The men who are gifted with such attributes, will fix their eyes upon an elevated object; towards this object they will advance with a firm, undeviating step; nor will they turn aside to the right hand or the left, till they have seized it with a grasp, which nothing can relax. Oh, that "the Lord of the harvest would send such laborers," in great numbers, "into his harvest." With what eagerness and joy would they not fill their bosoms with the golden sheaves.

Not a little has been said, and said on high authority, on the *passion* for such employments, which every one must feel, who would discharge with honor to himself and advantage to the church, the duties of a christian missionary. We are not sure, that we understand what is often asserted upon this subject. To us, the doctrine not unfrequently held upon this point seems very liable to misconstruction; and misconstruction of an injurious and unhappy tendency. A young man who expects to occupy the pulpit, is greatly affected with the wants and woes of the pagan nations. He clearly sees, that the last injunction of the Savior requires a much larger proportion of the "ministers of reconciliation," than are now so employed, to labor for the benefit of the heathen world. The question comes home to him with thrilling interest and marked effect, Am I not bound in obedience to my Savior's injunction, to consecrate myself to the missionary enterprise? There is nothing in my health, in my literary or social character; nothing in the great design of life, to which I am devoted, to forbid me. I think, that out of regard to him, who loved me and died for me, I could cordially welcome the labors and self-denial of the missionary work. In this work, I should offer without hesitation or delay to engage, if I were not embarrassed with the apprehension, that I want that *passion* for such employments, which on high authority, I have heard pronounced indispensable. Now for our part, we have no scruple in affirming, that such young men ought not to be so embarrassed. We know of no higher motive for the holiest employment, than an honest desire to obey and please Jesus Christ. Those who are moved and borne on by this desire, we should expect to see cling to the most arduous and difficult design with a tenacity, which nothing could retard, and a perseverance, which nothing could exhaust. They are the very men,

whom the Savior calls into the wide field of evangelical exertion; and whom he will not *fail* to protect, and guide, and prosper.

Every one who engages in the work of evangelizing the heathen, should enter the field of exertion, prepared to toil on long and strenuously with but little apparent success. For success he must indeed ardently pant. His heart must be set upon it. The first indications of it, he must joyfully welcome. This state of mind is requisite to enable him "to do with his might what his hands find to do;" to perform his official work with energy, decision, and ever burning zeal. But let him take wide and comprehensive views of the success for which he ought warmly to aspire. Let him look beyond first appearances. Let him not forget, that no little time, and strength, and skill may be requisite, to prepare the ground for the erection of a palace; and more, to lay broad and deep its ample foundations. Is nothing done till the topmost stone is laid—till the finishing stroke is given? And in the great design of rescuing any pagan community from the thick darkness in which it may be shrouded, how much labor and self-denial are demanded in *preparatory measures*! To form an acquaintance with such a community; to arrest their attention; to destroy long cherished prejudices and break up established habits, what incessant and strenuous efforts must be made! Who can say how long and how constantly, the stream of light must be poured upon the gloom, which the darkness of centuries has been accumulating and thickening, before the process of dissipation shall seem to begin? If we might speak to our missionary brethren in the respective fields of their exertions, with what earnestness mingled with affection would we not say, "Toil on beloved brethren, with unfailing courage and good hope, toil on; " your labor in the Lord shall not be in vain." "The seed you are sowing, may seem to be long buried in the dust." Yet faint not. Despond not. You shall not ultimately be disappointed. A golden harvest rich in the eye of Heaven, shall hereafter spring up in the field of your labors. Before that happy day, you may indeed have gone to your rest. But with angels you shall exult, when you see future reapers filling their bosoms with the precious sheaves. Then "he that sowed, and he that reaps, shall rejoice together."

In the spirit of such language should the church in general cheer her sons, who are "bearing" on her behalf "the heat and burden of the day" in pagan lands. But what shall we say of those professed christians, who feel impatiently, and speak peevishly of the want of such success in our missionary designs, as is proportioned to the magnitude of our labors? We frankly confess, that we scarcely know what to say. We are ashamed, mortified, grieved, that any disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ should open his heart to such sentiments, and his lips to such complaints. And we own, our grief is mingled with indignation, when we see our missionary brethren,

worn down with care, and well nigh exhausted with labor, exerting their little remaining strength in trying to drag along their heartless, reluctant fellow-laborers at home, in the path of duty and of usefulness. This, we have been ready to exclaim, *this is too much.* These despondent, complaining, apprehensive brethren, scarcely "touch" the burdens of the church "with one of their fingers." They know little of self-denial or christian enterprise but the names. They live in affluence and ease; and with much self-complacency bless themselves for giving now and then a trifling fraction of their property, and in some instances exerting a slight, indirect influence for the missionary cause. But their brethren "in actual service," devote spirit, soul, and body to this one design. In the midst of their embarrassments, privations, and self-denial, they hold on their way with unyielding resolution and perseverance. And shall they, in addition to all their other labors, be subject to the ungrateful task of "keeping up the spirits" of the church at home? We dare not trust ourselves to say all we feel on this subject. Haste the time, thou Savior of the world, when thy redeemed people shall feel and speak, as they ought upon their obligations and prospects, in toiling for the wide diffusion of that light, of which thou art the fountain!

But we cannot help making haste to guard our readers against the ungrateful prejudice, that the success, which in modern times has followed missionary exertions, is slight and small. Never was any heart infected with a more unfounded prejudice. This is not the place for statistical details. Those, however, who have acquainted themselves with the official statements, which have been urged on the public attention, cannot but know, that statistics could easily be made out on this subject, in which the holiest angel would rejoice. *Glorious success has already crowned modern missionary effort.* And the man who can pronounce this success a slight return for the exertions which have been made, we hesitate not to say, *must set a low price on the human soul, while he greatly overrates the labors of the church.*

On the best method of conducting the missionary enterprise, it is to be expected, that various opinions will prevail in the christian community. For our own part, we rejoice, that this great work opens before the church different departments of exertion. We rejoice that the farmer, the mechanic, the school teacher, touched with the "love of Christ," and moved with compassion for men, may here find a most interesting and useful field of christian effort. In their appropriate spheres of action, we cordially wish them God speed. Some of their number we have known, upon whom, we are persuaded, that the "blessing of many ready to perish," cannot fail to come. We are well aware, however, that we teach no new doctrine when we say, that *preachers*, engaged in the mission-

ary work, should consecrate themselves *wholly to the one great design of studying, illustrating and enforcing the truths of the gospel*, in their various bearings and relations. Every plan they form, and every step they take, should be in entire subserviency to this design. Neither they nor their patrons should for a moment forget, that it is "by the *preaching*" of the gospel, that the Son of God "will save them who believe." To the preaching of the gospel then, their best energies, and highest efforts should be directed. A missionary may indeed, be a skilful agriculturist or a "cunning" artist; may be shrewd, sagacious, and provident in financial concerns. Without departing from the grand object of his ministry, we are far from denying, that in connection with a missionary establishment, he may turn these and kindred qualities to good account. While they are employed in strict subserviency to the duties of his office, no good reason can be given why he should not make them contribute to his usefulness. But the truth cannot be denied, and ought not to be concealed, that while he turns his skill and experience in secular concerns to good account, he is in danger of having his attention diverted from the great end of his office. He is in danger of spending time and strength in economical arrangements and muscular labor, which should have been employed in studying the sacred volume, and in preparing himself to explain and enforce its truths, with increased skill and effect. And this danger is greatly increased by the air of sacredness which is thrown around every thing, connected with a missionary establishment. Whatever is here attempted, it is felt, is appropriately and emphatically *the work of the Lord*. And though the missionary may be consuming himself in cares and labors, which appropriately belong to others, he may be slow to perceive and feel the injury he is inflicting upon the sacred cause. The tone and strength of his mind may be greatly reduced. He may gradually lose the power of directing his energies to a given point, with skill and decision. His interrupted efforts to explain and defend the truths of the gospel, may become more and more feeble and ill-directed. "Gray hairs may be here and there upon him while he knoweth it not." Now it will not do to say, that loose, incoherent harangues will answer the purpose of instruction among a heathen people. The uncultivated and the cultivated mind require the same thought, in order to be led to the same conviction, and receive the same impressions. The same thought may indeed be presented under different aspects and modifications. But if *effectually* presented, it always requires much labor in giving instruction.

We remember to have fallen upon a remark in Milton, which we cannot help thinking deserves the serious consideration of every preacher of the gospel. Among other reasons for preferring the

practice of praying extemporaneously to the use of written forms, he remarks, that set forms may be used without bringing into exercise *any* faculty of the soul. But the *understanding* at least will be tasked in extemporaneous prayer. Now there is a sort of sympathy between the different powers of the mind. The act of rousing the understanding has a tendency to awaken the heart. The exercises of the former have an influence to draw forth the affections of the latter.—The principle involved in this statement is, we apprehend, of wide and very useful application. Well-directed efforts of the understanding, in any department of useful study, have a tendency to keep the heart alive;—to impart warmth, and life, and vigor to the affections. Aside from the direct and obvious results of study, in promoting intellectual discipline and increasing the mental acquisitions;—points, on which we have no occasion to dwell in this connection—it is well adapted, we maintain, to aid our progress towards *moral* excellence. And in this, as in other respects, it is at the peril of their religious character, that christian ministers give up the habit of diligently applying themselves to severe mental labor. No matter where Providence may call him to exert himself; no matter how rude and uncultivated his pagan charge may be, let the christian missionary be, in the best sense of the word, a *student*. Let him never forget, that the more highly his mind is disciplined, other things being equal, the more vigorous and effective will be his exertions to extend the limits of the church.

Too much attention, the christian missionary can hardly give, to the letters and journals which he may send to his friends and patrons. On these, especially, he should lay out his strength. With nice discrimination, he should select the facts to be presented. Whatever skill and ingenuity he may possess, he should industriously employ in giving these facts a form, and offering them in a connection, in which they may work their appropriate effects. He may thus hope, under God, to attract the attention and awaken the sympathies of thousands; to rear up and bring forward many and valuable helpers in those christian communities, which may read his pages. A deep and thrilling interest was extensively awakened not long ago, in one of our principal cities, in behalf of an American mission, by the just, yet glowing statements of one who had been a very useful member of that mission.

We need not be reminded, that in the suggestions we have made, we have offered little which can claim the praise of novelty. To such praise, on such a subject, we do not aspire. The bold innovator should tread lightly when he enters on missionary ground. Here, rash speculation may work unutterable mischief. And such speculation, we cannot help thinking, strongly marks the *novel**

* A plan has lately been offered to the christian public in England, by the

plans for conducting evangelical exertions among the heathen, which have of late been spread out beneath the public eye.

It is with the sincerest pleasure, that we express our full conviction, that in all important respects the American Board and kindred institutions, have fallen upon the true method of laboring for the conversion of the nations. It is a method, which seems to us, to be as far as the circumstances of the case admit, happily accordant with the official course of the first christian missionaries. Let the present plan of operation be acted on with greater energy and increased confidence. It has been attended with the smiles of the Savior. We exult in the full confidence, which it is our privilege to cherish, that the smiles of the Savior will not be withheld in time to come.

But we now approach a point, on which we cannot but speak with deep and painful emotion. We know full well, that the conductors of foreign missionary operations in this country, would most gladly extend their plans—would eagerly increase their operations a thousand fold. Our hearts have ached within us, to hear them utter again and again in tones, which should fall upon the ears of the churches with startling effect, the word EMBARRASSMENT. Oh, if professed christians in this highly favored land would rise up, as by a common impulse, to the full performance of their duty; if they would cordially yield to the obligations, which bind them to the Messiah's throne, the word *embarrassment* would in such connections be heard no more. The treasury of the Lord would be filled to overflowing. "The company 'of the heralds of salvation would be 'great.'" The angel having the everlasting gospel to proclaim, would soon be seen urging his flight through mid heaven. His voice, loud as the "sound of many waters," would fall upon the ear of the nations. Glad voices would be heard in heaven, and be echoed from the earth; shouting, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord, and He shall reign forever!"

We sometimes seem to hear the voice of our beloved missionary brethren as from their different stations, they look back towards the redeemed churches of their native land. We hear them addressing those, who are devoted to the sacred office. Dear brethren, they exclaim, *List up your eyes, and survey the field in which you stand. "The field is the world."* Can you for a moment think, that compared with the laborers, who are

author of a Natural History of Enthusiasm, for consolidating the different missionary societies into one grand institution, to be directed and controlled by the established church! This plan was carefully examined, fully exposed, and triumphantly exploded by the Rev. WILLIAM ORME, the late beloved, and able Secretary of the London Missionary Society, in an Essay, introductory to Mr. Swan's Letters.

toiling at home, a full proportion of laborers are engaged in foreign service? You cannot, for a moment, indulge such an apprehension. Who then can be found among you, who will promptly, cordially, joyfully devote himself to this exalted work? Come, dear brethren, and help us. We faint beneath the burden, which rests upon our shoulders. *Come and help us.* We are overwhelmed with the golden sheaves, with which we are so richly laden. Do none of you pant to tread in the footsteps of Brainerd, and Martyn, and Hall? We long to bid you welcome to the field of missionary effort, which it is our privilege to occupy.

Again, we seem to hear them addressing the churches, bought with redeeming blood. Bear with us, we hear them say; bear with us in what some may deem our folly. Look on us. We have literally devoted whatever we are and have, to the service of the churches. We are ashamed to speak of our labors, self-denials, and sufferings. Yet, brethren, we are not entirely strangers to suffering and self-denial. We have no complaint to make; but you will permit us affectionately to appeal to your consciences and hearts. Will you *sustain us* in the service, to which we have been consecrated? From this service, we do not ask to be relieved. We rejoice "to spend and be spent," in so glorious a work. But to be crippled and embarrassed in our designs for want of those aids, which you, dear brethren, are well able to afford,—this, *this* goes like a dagger to our hearts. We rejoice in the circumstances of ease and plenty, by which we see you surrounded. We rejoice to see you, "sitting beneath your own vines and fig-trees, having none to molest you or make you afraid." Long and graciously may heaven smile upon you! But, dear brethren, **REMEMBER US.** Remember the cause, to which both you and we are devoted;—a cause dear to the heart of everlasting Love, and which should be dearer to us than life itself. Oh, let not that cause longer be embarrassed. Stand up to sustain it. Give it your prayers, your influence, and a portion of your property. Cling to it, we beseech you, with a warmth of affection, and a strenuousness of effort, proportioned to its importance. Urge on; Oh, urge on the triumphal car of your Messiah, that you may unite in the shouts, which shall proclaim Him King of a redeemed, conquered world!

ART. VI.—REVIEW OF SPRAGUE'S LECTURES TO YOUTH.

Review.

Lectures to Young People. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany. *With an Introductory Address,* by SAMUEL MILLER, D. D. Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. New-York : 1830.

THE work before us is what might be expected from the author, who is well known to the public as one of our most popular and attractive writers. It includes seventeen lectures, delivered by Dr. Sprague in the ordinary course of his ministrations, to the young people of his congregation, on a connected series of topics. The preacher adapts his admonitions and instructions to the case of a youth, to whom he first presents the peculiar importance, and the many dangers, of the period of life through which he is passing ; on whom he urges, by every suitable consideration, an immediate attention to the claims of God and of his own immortal nature ; whom he supposes to pass through a process of inquiry, conviction, and conversion ; who enters on a profession of religion, and becomes acquainted with the labors and struggles of the christian life. Among the many books designed for the benefit of the young, we know of none on the same plan ; nor do we remember any which in regard to spirit and execution, is, on the whole, better adapted to the end.

It is one of the encouraging indications of our times, that ministers and churches are feeling so deeply, and are continually feeling more and more, the importance of efforts to imbue the generation that is to follow us, deeply, practically, and vitally, with the principles of christianity. The most imperious duty, and the noblest task, devolving on the present age, is the formation of the next to manly virtue, and to intelligent and primitive piety. We rejoice in every indication of increased attention to this great object. We say, let us have more books, more sermons and stirring exhortations, adapted—like the discourses before us—to win the attention and to meet the peculiar necessities of the young. Let ministers every where bestow more and more effort on the youthful members of their charge. Let them spare no pains to catch the attention and to secure the affections of those whose habits are unfixed, and whose character in life is yet to be formed. Let them not be satisfied with the influence of a sabbath school, or even with the ordinary exercises of a bible class ; but seize every opportunity of addressing them from the pulpit, in the lecture-room, in the school, and in the family. Nor let the press be unemployed. If one pastor in Hartford, and another in Albany, has successfully tried the experiment of addressing a series of discourses to this single class of society, and if each has given his course of lectures to the public, let other pastors instead of thinking that the work is done, be encouraged to try the

same experiment in other places. And if the result should be the publication of fifty volumes of discourses to the young, by as many authors, in different districts of our country, that result would be, with us, matter of encouragement: for every such volume would have its own sphere of peculiar influence, and its own peculiar adaptedness to do good; and would tell on the great object, better, perhaps, than all the others, in the region of its author's local and personal connections.

The importance of increased effort on the part of ministers and churches, to secure the early conversion, and the elevated christian character of the rising generation, is a subject which cannot easily be presented to the public mind too frequently, or with too great variety of illustration. We shall therefore encounter the hazard of seeming to repeat some things which we ourselves have said on former occasions, and some things perhaps which have been better said by Dr. Miller, in his Introduction to the volume before us; and shall embrace the present opportunity of interweaving with our extracts from Dr. Sprague's Lectures, a few remarks on a subject, the triteness of which by no means diminishes the interest with which it must be regarded by every benevolent mind.

On this subject, the well known susceptibilities of the youthful mind to deep and permanent impressions both of good and evil, is a topic full of persuasion. No pastor has ever assembled the young of his flock and addressed them on the great question of their personal salvation, or has brought to their special attention any appropriate subject of doctrine or duty, without feeling that for peculiar effort, in this department of the pastoral office, there is peculiar encouragement. No pastor has ever seen how rapidly the habits of the young may be perverted by evil communications, or how deeply and suddenly their minds may be poisoned by false principles, without feeling that for peculiar effort in their behalf, there is a peculiar necessity.

It admits of no question that there is something in the very state of the soul during the period of youth, which may be said in a comparative sense, to favor the work of its own sanctification. The understanding not having been brought under the dominion of prejudice, is open to the reception of truth. The conscience not having had its dictates frequently opposed and trifled with, is ready faithfully to discharge its office. The various affections of the heart are easily excited; and more easily than at any subsequent period, may receive a right direction. Who will not say that there is in all this a most desirable preparation for becoming truly religious; especially when the state of the soul to which I referred, is contrasted with that almost invincible prejudice, that deep moral insensibility, which often results from long continued familiarity with the world. p. 6.

There is danger resulting from that very *susceptibility of character*, which has already been mentioned, as favorable to early piety. For if the mind is then peculiarly susceptible of truth, it is also proportionably

susceptible of error. If the conscience possesses all the native sensibility, opposition to its dictates must exert a peculiarly hardening influence. If the feelings may be excited, with comparative ease, in favor of religion, they may even more readily be enlisted against it. And hence the melancholy fact is, that in a multitude of instances, the understanding, the conscience, the affections—the whole man, has become enslaved to a life of sin, at the very period when it was most susceptible of the influences of piety. Let no young person then repose in the conviction that his mountain stands strong, and that he is in no danger of becoming a hardened transgressor, merely because he is occasionally roused, or melted, or agitated, under the exhibition of divine truth: let him take heed lest the enemy come, and avail himself of that very susceptibility to bind him hand and foot with the cords of depravity and error, and consign him over to a most fearful destruction.

The fact that comparatively few individuals ever form a character of piety, after the character has been formed in other respects,—the fact that almost all who are converted under the stated ministration of the gospel, are converted in early life, is a consideration still more impressive. From what class in society are accessions made to the churches? Now and then a man of "hoary hairs" stands up to profess for the first time his faith in Christ, and in the decline of life to take upon himself the engagements of church-membership; but such an occurrence is so rare, that when it comes to pass it is regarded with wonder, and is chronicled accordingly. Sometimes, in a period of extraordinary and powerful religious excitement, men in the midst of life experience the efficacy of christian truth, and are brought to devote their matured energies to God and to his church; but all such instances are felt to be out of the common course. The great majority of those who are added to all our churches, are such as remember their Creator in the days of their youth. Every revival of religion, however extraordinary it may be in rousing the indifference and breaking down the opposition of old and hardened worldlings, affects first and chiefly the young. Every church is to be perpetuated and enlarged by means of early conversions. Every pastor is to gather those who will be the crown of his rejoicing, from among the youth and children of his charge.

Besides all this, the conversion of the young is decidedly of more moment than the conversion of those more advanced in life. Such conversions are more valuable as it respects the elevation and consistency of christian character. The piety which takes its date from early youth; which grows with the growth, and strengthens with the strength of the mind in all its faculties; which sheds its benignant influence on all the features of the character; and which has full opportunity to exert its purifying and ennobling tendency, while the very substance of the soul, as it were, is yet unformed and plastic, acquires a consistency, a symmetry, a strength and "beauty of holiness," which is rarely acquired in any other way.

The character of such an one is worth more to the church, worth more to the honor of God, and to the interests of man, than the character of the same individual could be, had he spent many years in mere worldliness, and then at last after all his habits of thought and action had acquired the stubbornness of age, first experienced the power of religion. May God grant to his churches a multitude of *young* believers who shall dedicate to him the bloom and beauty of their lives; who shall grow up, under the invigorating influences of his grace, toward the measure of the stature of perfect men in Christ; and who shall honor him in youth, with the loveliness of youthful devotion, in middle life, with the mature and manly attributes of ripened piety, and in old age, with all that is venerable in the records of a life unstained, and in the dignity of ancient godliness!

Another thought shows how much the conversion of the young is more momentous to the interests of God's kingdom, than that of any other class. The young have the entire period of their activity before them, and may be permitted to spend many years in works of christian usefulness. Let the old man be converted, as he totters along on the margin of another world; and what is there which he can do for God or for men? His own soul is indeed saved from passing into eternity unreconciled to God, and unforgiven; but what is there which he can do, what works meet for repentance can he perform, as the shadows fall dark and heavy on his path, and the gray evening of that night in which no man can work, is already closing around him? What can he do to advance the salvation of the world? What can he do to send down to after ages a strong and holy christian influence? He can only offer to God a few faded and decaying fragments of existence; he can only breathe out, with the tremulous asthmatic utterance of age, one feeble dying testimony; and he is gone to that land of silence where there is no work, nor knowledge, nor device. But the young christian, while he may be trained, as we have already noticed, to a higher and nobler measure of piety, may also be allowed to devote to the active service of God, all those years which the aged convert regrets having spent to no important purpose. If his life is spared, he will soon be sustaining his part in the vast and complicated drama of human action. All his influence on the men of his own generation, all his influence on the well-being of the ages that shall follow him, is something yet to be; and now that he has first given himself to God, we may hope to see that influence consecrated to the noblest and holiest ends. We may hope that in all the relations which he is yet to sustain in life, domestic, social, and public, as well as religious, he will be serving God and advancing the best interests of man. We may hope that through all the channels of human influence he will be continually sending forth

upon the world a salutary energy ; and that ere his head shall blossom for the grave, he will have done much to breathe into the character of ages yet unborn, the spirit of christian intelligence and christian virtue. That "aged one" who could say when the time of his departure was at hand, I am ready to be offered, I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, was converted while he was yet "a young man."

But, though we have by no means set forth, as we could wish, these general arguments by which pastors and churches are urged to greater efforts for the early and thorough conversion of the rising generation, we pass to some special considerations growing out of the peculiar circumstances of our country and our times, considerations which give emphasis and force to those which have been already suggested.

The most important peculiarity in the constitution of society under which we live, that indeed into which almost every other peculiarity may be resolved, is the perfect freedom of opinion and of moral influence which is here secured to all; the fact that here there is nothing to check or control the mutual influence of the individual members of the community. Every man has an opportunity to exert on society all the moral influence of which he is capable. Here are no privileged orders, no hereditary distinctions, no ecclesiastical establishments, no ancient and sacred immunities, no unrepentable constitutions, to bound or curb the tides of popular opinion. The character and the mutual influence of individual citizens, is, under God, the only thing on which the destinies of the nation hang. Whatever the people will, is done ; and they will just that which their character, and their influence on each other, lead them to regard as desirable. Government is nothing ; law is nothing ; constitutions and compacts are nothing ; public character and public opinion, in other words the character and opinions and mutual influence of individuals, is every thing. And while the influence of individuals is so momentous, and the power of public opinion so unlimited, every man is at liberty to push his influence in just what direction he chooses, and to the greatest extent which his faculties will allow. If a man chooses to propagate intemperance, libertinism, infidelity, atheism, any form of profligacy, or any monstrous or abominable doctrine whatever, he has every facility for doing it. If a man is careless what opinions prevail, or what sort of influence he exerts, there is nothing to hinder him from being borne withersoever the conflicting winds and currents may happen to carry him. If a man is impelled by the benevolence of christianity, and glows with desires to inculcate on others the same principles which are so rich a treasure to himself, no power can restrain him from doing it. If individuals of kindred spirit, whether few or many, choose to associate for the more extensive propagation of what

they regard as truth and virtue, they have no need to petition any body for the privilege of doing it; they cannot be hindered from doing it, save by the absolute subversion of the first principles of our social constitution. Christians are allowed to do all the good they can; infidels, so long as they abstain from actual violence, are allowed to do all the evil they can; and there is no power but God's which can prevent the inert, neutral, and indifferent portions of society from being swayed by just that party which proves itself the most united, earnest, and efficient in its efforts.

Nor is this all. Within the thirty years to come, it needs no spirit of prophecy to predict, the greatest results are to be decided in regard to the destiny of this nation. At the close of that period, the territory which we now call our country, will be occupied, unless some great catastrophe should intervene, by nearly thirty millions of people. The shore of the Pacific will then begin to be bordered, like that of the Atlantic, with commercial cities; and over the whole land "from sea to sea," will be scattered towns and villages and the various improvements of civilized man. But what shall be the character, and what the condition, of those millions, and of their countless posterity, is a question not yet decided. Whether christianity or infidelity is to form their characters, and to model and inspire their institutions, is a question not yet decided. Whether they are to be one people, free, united, intelligent and peaceful, or are to be divided into hostile states under strong and military governments, watering each other's fields with blood, and giving each other's harvests and dwellings to the flames, is a question yet to be decided. Whether the vales and mountain-tops of this wide empire shall be adorned with the spires of christian churches; whether the sabbath shall smile on all the cities and hamlets of the land, bringing to the universal population its weekly repose and its holy influences; or whether the temples of infidel reason and the temples of a degrading superstition shall triumph over the temples of Immanuel, and the orgies of atheism, the howlings of fanaticism, and the pomp of superstitious worship shall drown the voice of pure and spiritual devotion, are questions yet to be decided. Whether this land, hallowed by so many prayers, rich with the "garnered dust" of so many of God's saints, and glorious with so many displays of God's grace, is to be, from age to age, down to the close of the millennium, the brightest, fairest, happiest of all lands; or is to become the strongest hold of infidelity, the very valley of slaughter, in which God's enemies shall muster themselves for destruction, while the abomination of desolation is set up on the graves of our fathers, and from these desecrated shrines the voice of the Divinity shall be heard only as it says, **LET US DEPART**, is a question yet to be decided. Soon, even while the generation which is now young, is on the stage of action—soon, even by their character and their

conduct, these results, now so uncertain, that affect so deeply the well-being of this vast portion of the human race, will probably be determined and developed.

The great moral conflict which is now going on in this land, is, in fact, a conflict on the question whether light or darkness, truth or falsehood, vital religion or sheer impiety, shall get the control over the rising generation. Neither party in this conflict calculates on effecting any extensive revolution in the minds of those who have already attained to the age of maturity. It is on the young that the hopes and fears and efforts of both, are centering. Every youth truly converted to God, imbued with the spirit of evangelical devotion, and trained for intelligent and decided christian action, will probably be a witness for the truth, a strenuous supporter of virtue and godliness, an earnest opposer of all evil, a self-denying partaker in every benevolent and christian effort, in that most momentous and critical age, on the confines of which we are already standing. So, on the other hand, every youth whose sober habits are perverted, and whose mind is poisoned, by the adroit and indefatigable efforts of infidel demagogues, calculating on the future suffrages of a corrupted and besotted people, will probably become ere he is himself aware of it, a frantic infidel, making his forehead like brass, and braying forth his blasphemies against all that is holy. While "the combat deepens," and the energies of the parties are more desperately put in requisition, the influence of each individual will assume an importance the greater and a responsibility the more fearful, in proportion as it is the more closely connected with the final issue.

There is yet another topic of thought, connected with the aspect of the times, which imparts to this subject a still higher interest: The affairs of the world are apparently hastening to a crisis. Scarcely a breeze comes to us, from any quarter of the globe, which does not bring the tidings of revolution. The convulsions which are at this moment agitating Europe, terrible as they are, like the convulsions of a stormy ocean, to those who are tossed by the tempest,—and full of consternation, as if every mountain were beginning to pour forth its torrent of lava, and every plain to heave with the agitations of an earthquake—are not the only, or the most impressive indication that a new era will ere long commence in the history of the world. The crescent of the false prophet, which for so many ages has looked with disastrous and pestilential aspect on the most renowned and the richest countries of the globe, is fast waning and fading. The system of spiritual domination which once covered the nations with the darkness of its shadow, and held the universal mind of christendom imprisoned, has been stripped of its battlements and Gothic buttresses, and now undergoes, in every political change, some new mutilation. Every where there is a loosening

and breaking up of old foundations. Every where many are running to and fro in the earth, and knowledge is increased. Every where the minds of men are, in a greater or less degree, restless and inquiring, and strangely prone to abandon old opinions and to embrace new principles. And, what is by no means less significant, evangelical christians in every land, are waking up to catch the spirit of the times, and to embrace the opportunities which these times afford for the extension of the kingdom of their Lord. *Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,* is their motto, and their word of mutual recognition. Nor are their actual achievements less ominous of change than their increasing zeal. No undertaking of intelligent and expansive benevolence, no judicious enterprise for the diffusion of light and knowledge, fails of a signal success. Nations of men, who, a few years ago were mere savages, without a written language, without any of the arts of life, sunk in the most brutal sensuality, terrified and degraded by the most horrible superstition; and who, when christians began the enterprise of saving them, had learned of civilized man nothing but his vices, and had received at his hand nothing but new diseases and new means of destruction—have been converted to christianity; have received the bible, and now read it in their own language, treasuring its principles in their hearts, and showing something of its purity in their lives; have acquired, among other arts and inventions of civilized life, that great instrument of illumination—the press; have learned the principles and practice of civil government; and are now claiming a place and rank among the nations of the earth. In other lands of darkness, the gospel has been preached; individuals have experienced its saving efficacy; churches have been gathered; bibles and other books of instruction have been printed and circulated; and children, by thousands and hundreds of thousands, are at this moment receiving, in christian schools, such an education as will infallibly make them, to their countrymen, a few years hence, the radiating points of new opinions, and the impelling springs of religious and political revolution. No man can look on the tumultuous and changing aspect of the world, with even a careless eye, and not feel that some great crisis is approaching, that probably before the next generation shall have passed away, a new order of things will be visibly commencing in the history of mankind.

What importance then does this thought attach to the conversion of the young. On the character of the generation which is to follow us, are depending great results, not only in respect to our own country, but no less in respect to the well being of the human race. The enterprises which a few christians of different nations, have so auspiciously commenced in these days, will soon devolve on the christians of another age. On those who are now in early youth,

or in childhood and infancy, it must soon devolve to prosecute these enterprises with a holier zeal, and with an energy invigorated by the nearer prospect of universal victory ; or to abandon them and let the whole creation continue to groan and travail in pain together as until now, waiting to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. How important then, is the conversion, the early conversion of those who are soon to act under responsibilities so momentous. Every such conversion, we may hope, will in a few years, tell on the conversion of the world. Every youth who now becomes a humble, decided, self-denying christian, will soon possess, if his life is prolonged, the energies of manhood, guided by mature devotion, and impelled by an equable and fervent zeal ; and will be called to exert those energies, we may hope, at that critical point in the history of the world's salvation, when every mite of influence contributed to the cause of holiness, will derive an augmented value, from the instant pressure of thick-coming events.

We have already spoken of this subject in its particular connection with the pastoral office, and with the duties of the churches ; but does it not illustrate the responsibility of parents, guardians, teachers, of all who are in any relation forming the principles or the habits of the young ? Many such will cast their eyes over these pages, and we would remind them, that to them all these considerations address themselves with an impressive distinctness. You know the susceptibility of the youthful mind to all impressions. You know that the impressions stamped upon the child are never wholly erased, but through all the subsequent changes of character and of circumstances, modify the thoughts, the feelings, the actions, the existence of the man. You know that, through the whole period of his immortality, there will never occur a time more favorable for impressing truth on his conscience and affections, or for the formation of a character of love and devotion towards God, than that which is now passing. You know too the plain matter of fact, that of all who ever give any evidence of having complied with those conditions of salvation which christianity propounds, the great majority are converted in early life, and in consequence of early instruction and impression ; so that if the child under your care arrives at years of maturity without christian principles and christian habits, there will remain only, as it were, a desperate chance of his ever becoming a true follower of Christ. You know too that, supposing he is to be a christian, it is of the utmost moment for him, so far as either his usefulness or his happiness in this world is concerned, that he begin his christian career with the advantages which youth affords him, while the mental faculties have not yet taken their direction, and while the soul has not yet been fettered by inveterate habits of worldly and selfish action. You know too that

if he lives, he is to act in circumstances of various and immense responsibility; and that his conduct will have a serious bearing on the progress and the issue of that moral conflict which involves the destinies of the world. Now think of your present influence on him, in connection with his future influence on the kingdom of God; and then judge of your responsibility. You are his parents; in all probability he will be what you, directly or indirectly, make him. All the other causes combined are not ordinarily half so powerful on the child, as the instructions, the example, the spirit which breathes continually through the words and conduct of his parents. If you are faithful to your trust, if you diligently use the facilities which you have for influencing his character, the probability hardly falls short of certainty, that his character will in fact be formed under the salutary operation of religion. In proportion as you fail to exert on him an early, a steady, a consistent christian influence, in just that proportion does the probability approximate to certainty, that he will live and die a stranger to all holiness of heart. As in Timothy, the unfeigned faith that dwelt first in his grandmother Lois, and in his mother Eunice, shone out to enlighten and to bless the Gentiles, so your character, and your influence will be transmitted through your children to other ages. In them your "faith unfeigned," your humble and cheerful benevolence, your devotion toward God, if such be your character, may shine with a purer and holier light, glorifying God, and winning to heaven by the sweet attractiveness of love, souls yet unborn. In them, your spiritual slothfulness, your conformity to the world, your backwardness to every sacrifice, your indifference to the great and hallowed enterprises of christian benevolence, if such be your character, may become a cold, selfish, sullen, hard-hearted worldliness, despising God and heaven and hell. In them, your disregard of vital religion, your all-absorbing devotion to the things of time, your prayerlessness in the family, your occasional violation of the Sabbath and neglect of public worship, may become the very fanaticism of impiety, the bold and scornful malignity of infidelity, longing to exterminate the very form and name of true religion. In them, if they are not swept into early graves, your influence on the affairs of time will long survive your mortal existence. In them you are to live and act after your tomb stones have grown old, and when your names perhaps are cherished in no memory but theirs.

Who then can measure the responsibility of parents, or of any who have the guardianship of childhood and of youth? Their influence, whether it be good or evil, is not "interred with their bones;" it "lives after them" in the agency of others; and will still be tending to unlimited good or to incalculable evil, while they are receiving the reward of that good or evil in the world unseen.

In this connection we cannot fail to notice the dark and peculiar

atrocious of that wickedness which aims at the corruption of the young. All wickedness tends to propagate itself, by its native contagion. But there are men with whom the propagation of evil is not only a matter of course, but still more a matter of choice and calculation; men who take a fiendish pleasure in extending the principles and the practice of sin. There are men with whom it is a business to instill into the minds of others, especially of the young, such prejudices and opinions, and to excite there such passions, as will ensure their bitter and persevering enmity against religion and virtue. There are every where, especially in our cities, men, the very recruiting sergeants of the great enemy of God and man, who love to gain a baleful influence over the inexperienced and unsophisticated young; to introduce them gradually, as the decay of conscience in the bosoms of the poor victims will allow, into the haunts and mysteries and orgies of iniquity; to teach them the language of devils; to put to their lips, and lure them to taste, the fatal poison, hot with the fires, and mixed with the sorceries of the world of perdition; to bind them hand and foot, the slaves of Satan; to shut them up by the power of prejudice and passion, and by the mutual domination of copartnership in sin, so that no better influence, no voice of love, can effectually reach them; and thus to secure their moral ruin in this world, and, if there is any truth in the bible, their perdition in the world to come. Could we hope to reach the ear, and to ring one startling note on the dull conscience of such a man, we would tell him, It is not merely for the deep grief of those fathers whose hopes have "expired under the contagion" of your example and your principles; it is not for the anguish of many a broken-hearted mother, or the tears and shame of many a desolate sister, it is not for these alone that we regard you with abhorrence. Nor is it only for the fact that you are sealing these individual souls for a miserable eternity; awful as is the thought of what you are doing in this respect, it is not for this only that we shudder to look upon you. It is that you are corrupting another generation, and training these victims for a wickedness as atrocious as your own; are, sending them down to be in their turn and in their age the assassins of virtue and the murderers of souls, it is for this that you deserve to be loathed and abhorred by all who love the happiness of man. You cast deadly poison into a river, to flow down with its current, that all who dwell on its banks and drink of its waters may die. Your guilt has an atrocity unparalleled. Go, scatter the seeds of pestilence, light up the flames that shall consume our cities, perpetrate what stupendous wickedness you will, but leave us the virtues of our youth uncorrupted. All other calamities we can survive; all other calamities time will alleviate; all other calamities a benevolent Providence may ultimately convert into blessings to our posterity; but, for once, corrupt effectually

and universally, as you are doing within your limited sphere, the principles and morals of our youth; and for that poison there is no antidote, in that moral desolation there is no hope, there can remain for other generations only a fearful looking for of the fiery indignation, which never fails to come on a people corrupted and rotten.* Judge then what is your crime in the estimation of a holy God. You are laboring to destroy your country, and to spread a pall over the hopes of the world.

You are hastening to the judgment; and at that awful bar, you will meet every soul that you have helped to destroy; and the blood of each of these souls will be upon your own head. Nay, more; your corrupting influence may be propagated from generation to generation; and thousands whom you may never see in the flesh, may recognize you at the judgment as their destroyer; and the united curses of all these miserable beings may be heaped upon you through the ages of a suffering eternity. If your heart has not absolutely received the dark seal of reprobation, or if all the fountains of feeling have not been congealed by the chilling atmosphere of vice, must not the prospect fill you with horror? pp. 26, 27.

But after all, the most serious responsibility, in relation to these things, rests on the young themselves. They are responsible subjects of God's government. Their individual characters, as moral agents, in whatever circumstances those characters may be formed, are their own. Whatever external impulses may affect them, their choice in regard to the supreme good, is their own; and the whole of their influence on the kingdom of God, now and through all the years of their probation, is their own. After all that can be said respecting the influence of parents and teachers, of those who would

* The following poetical passage from the "New-England Weekly Review," some of our readers have met in the newspapers. Happy will it be for our country, when all our political journals shall be consistently devoted to the circulation of such sentiments.

"War may stride over the land with the crushing step of a giant, pestilence may steal over it like an *invisible* curse, reaching its victims silently and unseen, unpeopling here a village and there a city, until every dwelling is a sepulchre; famine may brood over it with a long and weary visitation, until the sky itself is brazen, and the beautiful greenness gives place to a parched desert, a wide waste of unproductive desolation;—but these are only physical evils. The wild flower will bloom in peace on the field of battle and above the crushed skeleton; the destroying angel of the pestilence will retire when his errand is done, and the nation will again breathe freely; and the barrenness of famine will cease at last, the cloud will be prodigal of its hoarded rain, and the wilderness will blossom. But for moral desolation there is no reviving spring. Let the moral and republican principles of our country be abandoned—our representatives bow in conditional obsequiousness to individual dictation, let impudence and intrigue and corruption triumph over honesty and intellect, and our liberties and strength will depart for ever. Of these there can be no resuscitation. The "abomination of desolation" will be fixed and perpetual; and as the mighty fabric of our glory totters into ruins, the nations of the earth will mock us in our overthrow, like the powers of darkness, when the throned one of Babylon became even as themselves, and the glory of the Chaldee's excellency" had gone down forever."

save and of those who would pervert, the question what they themselves are to be and to do, comes ultimately to them for a decision. Whatever force there is in any or in all of the considerations connected with this subject, bears most directly, and most solemnly on them, calling them to begin without delay a life of faith and devotion. Is it a fact that the youthful mind is peculiarly susceptible to every impression? Is it a fact that of those who pass the period of youth without becoming obedient to the gospel, almost all live and die without ever experiencing the vital influences of religion? Is it a fact that the piety which most blesses man and most honors God, must take its date from early life, and must have full opportunity to control the formation of all the habits and the development of all the faculties? Then what is the application of all this to the young—to you who are now forming your principles and choosing your line of action for life? Are these things so; and are you indeed a reasonable and voluntary being accountable to God for whatever you are in the world and whatever you do? Is it true, too, that you are to live and act in a country, where the influence of every individual derives from the very constitution of society a peculiar importance, and in an age big with great events involving the happiness of coming generations? And is the question what shall be your character, and whether your influence shall be for God or for his enemies, a question to be decided by your free determination, and at the hazard of your own soul? If all these things are so, if you are indeed to live under all these augmented responsibilities, what ought you to do? Living in these circumstances, have you any time to lose in idleness and folly? Have you any time to put off the claim which God urges on all the affections of your soul and on all the faculties of your existence? Ought you not from your childhood to be about your Father's business? Living when the dawn of that brighter age which the church has so long expected, seems ready to break on the world, and when the earnest expectation of all creatures seems waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God; living when the salvation of the world is involved so deeply in the character of the generation to which you belong, can you be deaf to the innumerable and concordant voices which summon you so loudly to be girding on your armor, and to come up without delay, devoting yourself to God and heaven, and applying all your energies to advance the cause of Him, whose kingdom is righteousness and peace and joy.

And now, if such a conclusion would not do violence to all the principles of human calculation, I would fain believe that all of you have resolved to enter immediately, and in earnest, on a religious life. But probably there are some here, who have not even thought of forming such a purpose; and perhaps others who have formed it, in whose remembrance it will hereafter exist, as a monument of the power of temptation, or the

treachery of the heart. I confess that an ominous gloom settles upon my mind, as it ventures forward to explore the path of these persons through the darkness of futurity. I see them going away from this place, unaffected by all which they have heard, and returning to the haunts of sin with as keen a relish as ever. I see them becoming more and more hardened in vice, turning their backs upon religious instruction, and living as if eternity were a dream, and the word of God a fable. At no great distance onward in the path of life, I discover them struggling under the pressure of adversity. I hear them call to the world for assistance; but the world turns a deaf ear to their entreaties. I extend my views yet a little further, and see these same persons on the bed of death. I see by the sinking countenance, the fluttering pulse, the faltering accents, that their conflict with the destroyer has commenced. I cast an eye around me to see whether any of their former vicious companions are present, to try to sustain them in this awful exigency; but not one of them is to be seen: theirs was the work of destruction, not of consolation. I see them writhing in agonies unutterable; oppressed and appalled by the prospect of an opening retribution, without a hold in the universe on which to hang a single hope. I hear their lamentations over a mispent life; their cutting reflections upon their miserable associates; their agonizing supplications for a longer space for repentance: and while my eye rests with horror on the frightful impressions that Despair has made upon the countenance, I witness the ominous change, which tells me that the soul is in eternity. And then, amidst all the wailings of parental tenderness which surround me; and while my mind is busy in trying to recollect some word or look which might have been a symptom of repentance;—even then, from that world where “hope never comes that comes to all,” I seem to hear echoed in groans of unavailing anguish, “the harvest is past, the summer is ended, and I am not saved.” pp. 28—30.

**ART. VII.—REVIEW OF WHEATON'S JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE
IN LONDON.**

Robleins

A Journal of a Residence during several months in London: including Excursions through various parts of England; and a short tour in France and Scotland, in the years of 1823 and 1824. By NATHANIEL S. WHEATON. A. M. Rector of Christ's Church, Hartford. Hartford, 1830.

OLD ENGLAND will be an object of lively interest as long as its white cliffs and rock-bound shores, its swelling hills and green fields shall endure; or its power, arts, literature, laws and religion shall survive in the memories of men. Could we suppose that at some future period, a catastrophe should befall it, like that which has laid Greece and Italy in ruins, not Greece or Italy would be a more interesting scene of research, or strike the mind of the thoughtful observer, with a profounder melancholy. The traveler would wander with a kindling admiration over a soil where the battles of freedom had been triumphantly fought, which was covered with the monuments of art, and genius, or the memorials of christian piety; and he would feel that the dust on which he treads, was once moulded into living forms embodying more true noble-

ness of character, than has adorned the annals of any other people on the globe. Even now, this "island empress of the sea" is the favorite resort of travelers, especially from our own country. Though in architectural monuments it must yield to Italy, and with one or two exceptions perhaps to France ; yet in the whole world beside, there are no country residences so splendid, or cottages so neat, or so tasteful a cultivation of the soil, or so much elegant comfort as in England. And the spirit, manners, and institutions of its people, are even more worthy of attention than its charming natural scenery, and artificial improvements, its "cloud-capt towers, and gorgeous palaces, and solemn temples." The champion of modern liberty, the fountain of free institutions, the bulwark of christianity, the mother of great men, the mistress of the ocean, and the most powerful, the most industrious, the most enlightened, and the wealthiest nation on the globe—almost every thing which is written concerning England is read with avidity, and speculations concerning her future destiny attract a more than ordinary share of attention.

These thoughts have been naturally suggested by the perusal of Mr. Wheaton's work, and by our own reflections on the subjects suggested by the contents of this volume. It is not our design however to dwell on the character of the book, or to produce regular extracts from it, as specimens of its manner, or of the information it contains ; yet we would not pass over so respectable a production, without one or two observations on its general merits. Mr. W. is certainly not inferior in interest to the generality of those who have preceded him in the same path, and on some topics, particularly the state of religion in the establishment, he is more full and satisfactory than any of our tourists. There are not wanting in his book some kindling descriptions, aided by his literary recollections, and deriving an increased interest from a well regulated fancy ; but these do not frequently occur. It is in general an easy, flowing, sober, judicious narrative, written in a neat and correct style, the topics being well digested, and the whole enlivened with a slight tinge of piquant humor and playfulness. If we find little that is original in sentiment, or profound in thought, neither are we annoyed with perpetual common-place. Good sense and valuable information sustain the attention of the readers ; and the author very properly infers in regard to many objects, that they are too well known to need a particular description, or a repetition of their story in all its details. Though there is now and then a beautiful strain of moralizing, he has scarcely any thing like discussion or dissertation in the book, and if by this omission, he foregoes the opportunity of showing himself eloquent, or philosophical, or a deep observer of human nature, yet he appears better as a mere tourist. He has made a sensible remark on this subject himself, towards the

conclusion of his account of England. "I must leave it" he says, "with the reader to form his own judgment of the impressions I have received of the various interesting objects which have fallen under review. General deductions are little regarded in the journal of a traveller. It has rather been my aim to describe what I saw, and what I heard, with fidelity; and to allow the reader to form his own conclusions." The extent of his reading in English history and English literature is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the book, if we may judge from the great number and felicity of his allusions to both.

If a judgment may be formed from the extensive intercourse, which the author seems to have had with persons in the higher ranks of life, with noblemen, bishops, and scholars, he must have been favorably situated for observation; and as he sought every opportunity to hear the most celebrated British preachers, and has remarked freely on their performances, he has presented us with some valuable information on this subject. His connection with the protestant episcopal church in America, and the errand on which he was sent, gave him peculiar facilities for interesting remarks on the English establishment. And he seems to have acquitted himself well in this respect. The general spirit and tone of his representations are unexceptionable; and though he very naturally shows an attachment to his own modes of worship, we could not reasonably expect greater liberality towards others than his work exhibits. It is evident that he favors decidedly the evangelical party in England, and his dissatisfaction with a large portion of the preaching in the Establishment, may be reasonably supposed to evince his own settled conviction of the worth of sound doctrine. In one instance the tenor of the above remarks may perhaps need to be modified, and as it refers to the only questionable representation of any consequence that we recollect, it may be well to notice it here, and thus conclude our critical remarks.

I am persuaded says Mr. W. that a higher tone of piety prevails, than would be expected from the general style of pulpit instruction which it has been my lot to witness. That the latter has undergone, however, a great change within the last fifty years, that it has become more purely evangelical, that the doctrines of man's depravity by nature, of the necessity of a spiritual regeneration, of justification by faith alone through the merits of Christ, have been, and still are, more frequently held up to view, that there has been a general movement in the national establishment towards a return to the standard of her own articles, and of the reformation, are facts which admit of no dispute. This change in the spiritual views of a large and influential portion of the clerical body, has to a considerable extent, produced a corresponding one among the people. The piety of the dissenters, I have been frequently assured, is in a great measure transferred to the national church; while many of their own chapels, once blessed with an orthodox ministry, have passed with their endowments into the

hands of those who preach another gospel. The case of the dissenters of the present day, affords a striking example, how difficult it is for a religious community to hold fast the profession of their faith, without the standard of a liturgy, to which the doctrines of the pulpit may constantly be referred. p. 159.

And it may be added, in a spirit not inconsistent, we trust, with evangelical candor, how difficult *with* the standard of a liturgy, if a part of what the author has said before, is founded in fact! Almost the whole of the national establishment, it seems, are moving backward to their early standards, inasmuch as they had notoriously departed from them in times past! We know not the exact extent of the defection which Mr. W. speaks of, as existing among the dissenters, how many chapels have passed into the hands of the heterodox, how many theological schools, like that of Doddridge, have experienced a melancholy change. But the defection, it is perfectly well known, has never been general; nor in proportion to their numbers has it equaled that which has existed in the establishment for more than a century, and which still exists there. The *great body* of the clergy of the church of England, without doubt, had departed, on *essential* points, from an evangelical spirit, were loose in sentiment, or preached an accommodating morality, and indulged in a worldliness and pursuit of pleasure, equally dishonorable to their profession, and contrary to the precepts of the bible. According to our author, it is not till comparatively of late, that a better spirit has obtained among them; and even the work of reform, if the commonly received accounts are correct, does not embrace quite one third of their number. Of the ten thousand clergymen in the establishment, not more than three thousand are considered as belonging to the evangelical class. For aught that appears, then, notwithstanding the security to be derived from the standard of a liturgy, most of the established clergy have failed to preach the pure doctrines of the gospel, or have been essentially deficient in other respects, and consequently have suffered souls to go astray and perish. Such a standard must be of far less use than is sometimes imagined, if any or all can deviate thus openly from its acknowledged principles. Facts demonstrate, that a liturgy has no more effect in commanding the full and faithful dispensation of the truth, than the plan which the dissenters adopt. It is not the want of a liturgy that leads preachers and people into error and ruin, but a more radical and serious want in human nature itself—the want of a good heart. It has long been understood, that the anti-evangelical portion of the establishment, strenuously oppose the attempts that are made by their brethren to promote serious, heart-felt piety, that they deride the latter under the name of methodists or fanatics, that a gay and dissipated life is led by vast multitudes of the people, and connived

at by their teachers; yea in many instances that these teachers are foremost in the ranks of dissipation, that subscription to the articles is very generally felt to have no binding authority over the subscriber's faith, and that though ground has been gained of late by the consistently pious, much more remains to be gained. The church of England tolerates even gross Unitarianism in its bosom. Among others of the more distinguished rank, Dr. Parr may be mentioned. Mr. W. remarks in a note concerning him thus.

"His being overlooked in the dispensation of church patronage, was owing to his Unitarianism, and general laxity of religious principle; of which he made little secret. For sometime before his death, it was his custom to mutilate the liturgy, still retaining his living in the national church, to whose articles and formularies he had repeatedly subscribed his assent." p. 36.

And from this example and others that might be mentioned, it appears that notwithstanding the existence of correct standards of faith, Unitarianism and other unsound doctrine can not only be preached but exemplified by the clergy in a worldly and pleasure-loving life. Indeed if the truth were told respecting the majority of the clergy in England, who subscribe to its articles and liturgy, it would fill the mind of every serious man in this country with absolute horror. Some facts on this subject may be gathered from Rowland Hill's Dialogues, and a multitude of them force themselves on the notice of every one who has resided even for a short time in England.

In the observations which grow out of a book giving an account of England, (though it should be only the journal of a traveler,) we feel more the difficulty of compression, than of enlargement. We shall direct the attention of our readers therefore to a few only of the many topics of a general nature, on which we could wish at this time to dwell. We would remark then in the first place, on the happy consequences of the *daily enlarging intercourse* between Great Britain and this country. The intercourse we speak of is at length becoming one of a pacific, and friendly character, deeply affecting all our relations, political, social, literary and religious. We perceive it in the present boundless spirit of travel, in the frequent exchange of country for the purposes of business or residence, in the numerous connections formed by marriage, and in the extensive interchange of newspapers, periodicals, and books of all descriptions. We may add also, as very important in this enumeration, and as peculiarly characteristic of the present day, the many communications of religious societies, and the union of christians in both countries, in the benevolent enterprises that now prevail. The day we hope is approaching when these enterprises are to become the great bonds of nations. In their very beginning, they awakened in Great Britain and America an interest in each other

which time and even war, we believe, will never be able to extinguish. Since the separate existence of the United States, the intercourse between the two nations until of late years, has been more restricted from various causes, than would naturally be supposed, considering the former connection of the countries. The intercourse moreover, which actually existed, was not always of the happiest kind. British tourists in this country, were in general so gangrened by prejudice, that they carried home with them the most distorted representations respecting America, and did equal injustice to our soil, our resources, our institutions and our character. But a change has taken place for the better in this respect; a more just and liberal tone of representation prevails;* nor can it be, that amidst so much intercommunion, there should not be some of great value to both countries.

We are becoming better acquainted with each other, and ignorance and misrepresentation are fast disappearing. The British public, who, for many reasons, have been less acquainted with us than we with them, begin to view this nation in its true light. Not many years since, they knew, indeed, very little of the United States; and it almost seemed, so far as reviewers, pamphleteers, and newspaper editors were concerned, as if this ignorance was courted and gloried in. But it was impossible, when "every change in America has occasioned a correspondent change in Europe," and when "the kings of the continent already regard with awe and disquietude, the New Rome rising in the West," that the British nation should not desire to be enlightened in regard to their own descendants, so apparently destined by providence, like themselves, to be the guiding star of other climes and future ages. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened; and the productions of the American press are revealing to the eyes of Britons more and more, the character and resources of the great transatlantic republic. The eager curiosity manifested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as mentioned by Mr. W., is an instance of the disposition prevalent in these times, to ascertain every thing that can be known concerning the United States; and

* We are aware that a late English traveler, Captain Basil Hall, has revised some of the captious things said against us by former tourists, and added others of his own. But from recent English prints, we are pleased to learn, as a specimen of the liberal feeling now so considerably prevalent, that an answer to the Captain's book, in a review by an American, is spoken of by several of the British journals, as a triumphant reply to the English traveler. One of these journals, the Gentleman's Magazine, says, "We are glad to find from the review of Capt. Basil Hall's Travels in North America, that the English of the New World, do not entertain that antipathy to their relatives in the parent isles, which is commonly supposed." Another says, "The pamphlet before us ought certainly to be perused by every one who has read the captain's travels, for the work is indeed a triumphant reply."

his opinion of American writers, at once just and liberal, shows that our literature cannot long pass without notice, even amid the rich products of the classical soil of Britain. This disposition doubtless is increasing every day; and if the time was—not many years since—when a friend of ours, in casting his eyes over the splendid library of a British nobleman, noticed in it but a single American work, we hope that our countrymen may be rarely mortified in a similar manner, on such an inspection, now that our Dwights, and Websters, and Irvings, and Channings, and Coopers, and Percivals enjoy a reputation as writers, no longer confined to the country which gave them birth. A juster appreciation of American talent and genius, as well as of our physical resources, and political and other institutions, follows almost necessarily, upon that enlarged acquaintance with us, which our ancestral country is now disposed to cultivate.

And not only so, but more kindly feelings towards us must spread through all the ranks of the British population—feelings that will be eagerly reciprocated on our part. Indeed, strictly speaking, the great body of the people in both countries, have never been destitute of amicable sentiments towards each other, so far as they have had an opportunity of mutual acquaintance; and even without this acquaintance, they could not heartily be enemies, from the very promptings of that consanguinity which exists between them,—however literary jealousies may have been excited by interested authors, and causes of collision have been found between the different governments. Mr. Wheaton, like other tourists, bears testimony to the kind feelings, which in England, are manifested towards the American people. He says, “I have scarcely met with a single instance to shake my belief, that the mass of the English population view their descendants in the United States with a feeling of friendliness, which they entertain for the people of no other nation.” As nations of the same blood, the same language, and the same precious faith, we hope that these amicable sentiments may be cherished and strengthened, and that there may not long be found instances of a contrary spirit, either in their social, literary, or political intercourse. For the honor of letters, the prosperity of the gospel, and the best interests of mankind, all of which are concerned in the perpetuity of those institutions, that are identified with the language of Englishmen and their descendants, we pray that nothing may be suffered to arrest, for a moment, these liberal views and friendly feelings. It is an object of devout desire, that the only rivalry between the two nations, may be that of moral and intellectual excellence; and in regard to the “Ithaca,” whence we sprang, if we cannot as yet “draw” her “bow of Ulyssæan greatness,” as has been rather loftily said, there should at least be no unnecessary vaunting on her part, nor unmanly misgivings on ours.

With these convictions, we most sincerely deprecate any attempts, at the present day, on the part of gifted individuals, by drawing invidious comparisons, and indulging in petty competitions, to prevent the spirit of ill will and detraction, to whatever extent it may have prevailed in particular cases, from dying wholly away. On this account, we think Mr. Cooper has been injudicious, in his late work, entitled "Notions of the Americans," in which he has evidently taken too much pains to institute comparisons between America and England, to the disparagement of the latter. It is not indeed to be expected, that we should speak of Englishmen in exact agreement with their wishes, or they of us in exact accordance with ours; but gratuitous and unnecessary grounds of variance should not be sought. It would seem, as if Mr. Cooper wished to see the two countries brought into open collision; and he has doubtless taken the most probable method in a work designed to expose the misrepresentations of British tourists, to irritate and keep alive any bitter feelings which may still exist. We learn from a source to be relied on, that in the circles of liberal Englishmen, the character and tendency of the book are highly deprecated; and that but for this inauspicious and too plentiful infusion of national jealousy and vaunting, the "Notions of the Americans," from the great popularity of the author as a novelist, would be extensively read in Great Britain, and much valuable information relative to our country, people and institutions be disseminated—but that the book as it is, will either be perused with distrust, or thrown aside with aversion.

The importance of cherishing a kind feeling between the two countries, will be felt most sensibly in the religious efforts of the age: and what Christian does not rejoice to see the sphere of this mutual benevolence so much widened even within the past year? How cheering is the intelligence, that Great Britain, which led us in the work of evangelizing the heathen, sending the Bible and tracts over the world, is following us in that wonder of the age, the temperance reformation. Ireland has done something in the same work, Scotland has engaged with ardor in it, and the train has just been lighted in England. No doubt British philanthropists and Christians, when they see their duty clearly, as they must be made to see it, will not delay long to give to the temperance cause, not only the energies of their intellects, but the sanction of their practice.

The *points of resemblance and difference* between Great Britain and the United States in respect to their social condition, are naturally suggested to our thoughts, upon the perusal of every work similar to the one under review. The features in which they resemble each other, are of course obvious and general, possessing as these nations do, substantially the same manners, institutions, laws, language and religion. The differences, though distinctly marked,

are more minute, and pertain to particular modifications of the above named elements of social life. To this topic we would turn the attention of our readers for a few moments, dwelling rather on some of the diversities in this respect. It is, we believe, a common remark with travelers from the one country to the other, that the difference between them is greater than they had previously been aware. Nor is the fact surprising, that Englishmen and the descendants of Englishmen, to whom English modes of life must have been so well known and so dear, should, in many particulars, have diverged from the views and practices of the brethren whom they left behind them : it only shows the powerful nature of those causes, physical and moral, which give to nations their character.

The difference is found to extend in a slight degree, (though much less than many suppose,) even to the language. The same tongue receives such a change, as to correspond with the new circumstances of the people who speak it. Sometimes not necessity only, but inattention, ignorance, or vanity introduces innovations. Though a well-educated American, may travel from one end of Great Britain to another, without being recognized as a foreigner, yet our countrymen are not unfrequently distinguished by their tones, accent and pronunciation, the use of new words, or of old ones in new senses. The Englishman also has his peculiar modes of speech, and in conversation varies from the written language, according to the dialect of the county to which he belongs. If moreover he has the soppery that attaches to the court or its precincts, he may be known by his *go-uth*, *meek-nuss*, *good-nuss*—by his *wauld*, (world,) *Laud*, (Lord,) *hât*, (heart.) Whether our peculiarities are more numerous than their's, we will not undertake to decide. But every intelligent traveler, we believe, will confirm the emphatic declaration of Sir George Rose, for some years the British resident in this country, that in no quarter of the globe is the English language spoken with greater purity, or with less dialectical peculiarity, than in our New-England States.

The diversity which, in several respects, marks the modes of living and the customs of two such nations, may properly receive from us a passing notice. England has been called a custom-riden country, and doubtless with much justice. The marked distinctions which exist between the various classes of society, naturally produce many and peculiar usages. Each class has its own way of doing things, and the common intercourse of life is necessarily attended with more form and etiquette than with us. The radical constitution of English society authorizes such a species of manners, and on the part of the higher orders, it is evidently a remnant of the spirit and institutions of an early age. People of the better sort, in their visits, parties, amusements, weddings, and funerals, are regulated by forms, and adopt a scale of expense, which they consider essen-

tial to the rank they sustain, and a departure from which would be stigmatized as meanness or vulgarity. Though "dukes, lords, and ladies," as Pelham says, "eat, drink, talk, and move, exactly the same [in form] as any other class of civilized people," though in conversation, they are not "always my lording and my ladying each other," or "ridiculing commoners," yet we need not say how fully they are aware that they *are* lords and ladies, whatever they may say; and how generally they feel that in their presence, commoners should keep at a respectful distance. The lower classes, however, are evidently approximating towards the higher. It is obvious that in dress, manners, and acquirements, there is, by no means, so great a distinction between different classes as formerly existed. The people of the middle ranks, for instance, push their imitation of the mode of living and customs of their superiors, to the utmost extent of their means; and few of them even in the solemn ceremony of interring their dead, are willing to forego, what appear to us, the excessively numerous, tedious, showy, and expensive observances that rank has appropriated to the occasion. A person in the middle classes indeed must have met with good success in life, to save enough to insure him a *fashionable* burial. That our own country is not yet brought so entirely under the control of custom, in this particular, or in other forms of social life, is a happiness which we cannot perhaps fully appreciate, till we ourselves shall have become its victims. Were it consistent with the object here in view, it would be easy to extend the present illustration, by adverting to various other usages, in which British society differs from ours. It will be proper only to observe in general, that the great distinction of classes, the dense state of population, the perfection of the arts, the minute subdivision of labor, and the necessary attention paid to small things, have, together with furnishing innumerable comforts to the wealthy, imparted to British life at large, a precision, a constraint, a sort of artificial, mechanical cast, to which Americans, in the fulness of their equality and independence, are total strangers.

The diversity which exists, on the subject of education and intellectual culture generally, between the two countries, is one of great interest—to do justice to which, pages of discussion would hardly suffice. In the higher walks of learning, in maturity of knowledge, in whatever pertains to tasteful exhibitions, we are unquestionably behind the land that gave us birth. It was natural that the benefits of education, in a country like ours, should be enjoyed rather by diffusion, than accumulation. They are needed by the great mass of the people, to produce that illumination of the public mind, and that regard for morality, which are essential to the existence of our republican institutions. Without, however, withdrawing in the least the means of public instruction, or reducing to narrower limits, the information enjoyed by the people at large, (but seeking rather to

multiply those means and widen those limits,) the time has certainly come when we ought also to aim at that higher intellectual distinction, to which our capacities and resources, rightly directed, are doubtless adequate. A pure and exalted national literature is second in importance only to morality and religion, and the means of forming it in our peculiar situation, presents one of the most interesting problems which remain for us to solve.

Mr. Wheaton has adverted in several instances to the perfection of the English system of education, in that portion of the community who enjoy it, one specimen of which appears in his account of the examination of the Charter House boys, in London.

"It was," he says, (p. 237,) "a noble spectacle, to see between five and six hundred of them assembled in one apartment, to exhibit proofs of the progress they had made in their various studies. The exercises were conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury's chaplain and another clergyman, in the presence of a number of spectators. The eldest classes were examined in Sophocles, which they rendered into correct English with perfect fluency. The readiness with which they explained the sense of that difficult author, showed a proficiency in the language quite unknown in the schools, and even in the colleges of America. In reading portions of the new testament in the original, they were not only required to attend to the nicest shades of meaning; but to cite parallel passages, illustrative of those on which they were examined, and to give explanations, geographical, grammatical, doctrinal, and historical—all of which was done with admirable readiness and precision. Their recitations from Virgil exhibited, in a striking manner, the perfection of their training in the Latin tongue. One began, *without book*, reciting and construing from half a dozen to a dozen lines. He had no sooner completed the sentence, than the examiner called upon another boy in the same class, who immediately commenced reciting in the same way; and so on till each one had been examined in his turn. Notwithstanding they were suddenly called upon, and apparently without any order, there was no mistake, nor the least hesitation, during the whole trial. The ages of the boys seemed to be from eight to fifteen."

Another specimen, on a lower scale, appears in our author's account, (p. 211,) of the charity girls of St. Sepulchre's.

"Their examination," he says, "was conducted wholly among themselves by question and answer. No book was used, nor was the least prompting necessary; and although the exercise was prolonged for two hours, there was neither blunder nor hesitation through the whole time. The children stood motionless as statues, looking strait forward with their arms crossed; and it was often difficult to perceive from whom the voice proceeded, as no apparent order was observed.—What I greatly admired was the extreme beauty and propriety of their pronunciation, to which we in America pay so little attention in our schools."

But it is not our design to pursue the subject of the difference between England and America, into many particulars. We shall therefore omit others, and come to the topic of *religion*. We are much indebted to the author under review, for the information he

has afforded us on this point, particularly as it relates to the Establishment. His opinion has already been presented in part. A few other notices from his pen may be added. Speaking of a sermon by Archdeacon Bloomfield, (p. 153,) which he heard, he says,

It wanted method, and like many of the sermons I have heard in and about London, was deficient in strong and manly thought. There is a barrenness of invention in almost all of them—a poverty of matter, which may be traced in part to a radically deficient theological education. The preachers have literature in abundance, which they lay up at the universities: but they have not theology enough.

"Without doubt," says Mr. Wheaton, in another place, "our American clergy are before their Transatlantic brethren in the article of faithful preaching, and even in pulpit eloquence, in that warmth and directness of address which makes its way to the conscience and feelings of the hearer; however inferior they may be in classic lore and literary taste."

Again, in detailing a conversation which he had with Mrs. Hannah Moore, (p. 312,) he says,

Mrs. Moore expressed her surprise that no provision whatever had been made by the [American] government for this purpose, [the support of religion.] I replied it was best things should remain as they are. This interference of government in any shape, is impracticable and by no means to be desired. The cause which they should undertake to support would be ruined by their patronage. "But how *are* your clergymen supported?" By annual pew-rents, voluntary taxes, and contributions. "But does it not make them servile and unfaithful in their preaching?" Quite the contrary. I believe our clergymen are as a body, more faithful in this respect than yours. It is the way to gain popularity and influence, as well as the way of duty. "That speaks much for the American people."

This is the tone of our author's remarks in some other places, and especially in commenting on individual preachers, many of whom he took an opportunity to hear, as the best means of ascertaining the state of religious feeling in the land. Still he thinks favorably of the piety of the people,—a large proportion of whom attend on the means of grace, with apparent devotion and zeal.

It seems to be conceded, that *the strain of English preaching* differs from the generality of that which is adopted by our American divines, and is inferior to it, in some important characteristics. Of this fact not only the hearers, but the readers of English sermons must be assured. The printed discourses of English divines, at the present day, bear a certain signature, by which they are readily distinguished from those which proceed from the pulpit or press in this country. We here speak of the sermons, not only of religious teachers connected with the established church, but of the sermons of those belonging to the dissenting interest. And we have reference not merely to the great mass of pulpit exhibitions, which are rather essays than sermons, and the subjects of which are rather

identified with pagan philosophy than Christianity, but to those that pertain to the evangelical school of divinity. We leave Dr. Blair and Mr. Alison out of the question, whose sermons "have had their day, and no longer retain a place on the shelves of Christian theology." Taking the production of those who preach substantially the truth—the doctrines of the reformation, we find with a few exceptions, some obvious points of dissimilarity, if not of contrast. Their evangelical preaching is not exactly our evangelical preaching.

The form of it is different. Most English sermons of the class intended, compare unfavorably with American sermons, in this respect. They fall in strictness of method, in a doctrinal experimental cast, in an argumentative turn, in directness of address, or in power of appeal to the conscience. If, in most English discourses, we find a regular train of remarks; we do not so frequently recognize that formal division of topics, by which the object of the preacher is rendered more apparent to the hearers, and his instructions are more easily remembered. If, in the majority of English sermons, we are gratified with many though and sententious wisdom; we do not so often meet with doctrinal discussion and pungent application. If they are marked by literary exactness, and a practical turn; they give us fewer examples of bible reasoning, and clear views of truth. If they are filled with instructive representations, respecting the realities of religion and the spiritual world, yet they are sparing of those powerful, pungent appeals to the conscience, which render sinners so wretched in the neglect of their duty. They may be apparently kinder in manner, but less efficient—less heart-stirring. Their effect is more soothing, but not more purifying. Some one has said that English theologians preach as if their hearers had no conscience.

In respect also to the *matter* of sermons, although the same Christianity for substance may be preached, there is not in the two countries, the same sort of representations on some points, nor is there the like prominence given to certain other points. The doctrines of the gospel are a little differently shaped, or appear in connections in which they affect the mind with different degrees of force. We could find fault with the theology of English divines occasionally, by noticing their confused representations concerning the means of grace as used by sinners, the value of unregenerate doings, the nature of fallen man's inability to obey God, the true character of the divine work in regeneration, and perhaps some other topics. They need more thoroughly to understand the principles of Edwards, in order to open the conscience, and to make the truth bear upon it in all its weight. The advantages derived from the views of experimental religion mostly prevalent in this country, especially as exhibited in revivals, would also be felt to be very great by our English brethren, were they fully to embrace them.

They would then preach the gospel with much more effect. Let us not be misunderstood. We design not to proclaim our own superiority, but we would thank God for his goodness. Through his gracious providence, this people have been placed in peculiarly favorable circumstances, in respect to a free, bold, and independent discussion of religious truth, on the part of spiritual teachers; circumstances in which the latter could neither be seduced by the emoluments of the world, nor awed by its power. Ours, too, is the home of the pilgrim fathers, the best men that ever reared an empire, through whom unnumbered blessings have descended to the present generation. The theological training of our clergy, moreover, has been eminently propitious. The master spirits who have given to theology, here, its bright, primitive, scriptural aspect, have always exerted and now exert a deep and strong influence over the religious public. They have felt the awful power of Edwards, have listened to the arousing tones of Davies, have followed the close reasoning of Smalley, have been searched by the keen discrimination and pungent appeals of Emmons, and have drunk in the sound sense, diversified scriptural lore, and holy unction of Dwight. But though speaking for ourselves individually, we should consider these and others like them, as best exhibiting both in matter and manner, what preaching should be; yet we must be alike stupid and ungrateful not to own our obligations to kindred spirits, in the parent country. These certainly have furnished important aids to piety. They may not, in general, have very effectually wrought conviction in the minds of sinners, but they have been the means of advancing the holiness of christians. Though we may have been less thoroughly aroused to duty by their representations, we may have been made to feel more the charm of religion as a speculative principle, our taste and feelings may have been at times better conciliated. Some of the earlier worthies have been already named. Among the more recent, we are glad of the opportunity of saying, how much we have been refreshed by the cheerful piety of Newton, have been humbled in view of the large experience and devoted diligence of Scott, have been lifted above the world, by the calm wisdom and purity of Venn, have been subdued by the solemn grandeur and the pathos of Chalmers, and been thrilled and edified by the vivid representations and rich religious feeling of Hall.

The strain of preaching which we have noticed in our transatlantic brethren, so far as it is different from that of our divines, is doubtless owing in a great measure to their different circumstances. The force of custom in the ministry itself—the spirit of imitation—the settled notions of the country which have come down, not altogether rectified, from a corrupted age, the age of papal darkness—the influence of the establishment giving, in

identified with pagan philosophy than christianity, but to those that pertain to the evangelical school of divinity. We leave Dr. Blair and Mr. Alison out of the question, whose sermons "have had their day, and no longer retain a place on the shelves of christian theology." Taking the productions of those who preach substantially the truth—the doctrines of the reformation, we find with a few exceptions, some obvious points of dissimilarity, if not of contrast. Their evangelical preaching is not exactly our evangelical preaching.

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many instances, too secular a character to the ministry—the great distinction among the different orders of the people—and the habits of social intercourse founded on that distinction, might be expected to present some modifications of christianity as preached, differing from those that are witnessed among us. Under such circumstances the gospel, in its administrations, might be expected to possess a less primitive, simple, and independent character, than as it came from our puritan fathers, purged as it must have been from its corruptions, through their sufferings. People, as is often the case in the English national church, who have not the choice of their own spiritual guides, may be displeased, (though unable to relieve themselves,) with an heretical, worldly, or lazy parson. In the last named character, as Mr. Wheaton has described one, they may be often treated to an excellent sermon, but "the quantity of good divinity contained in it, together with the intermixture of certain phrases which have a strong smack of antiquity, may lead to the most uncharitable doubts how much of it is his own." Where worldly, irreligious laymen have the right of presentation to a vacant benefice, such must frequently be the character of the ministry. And even pious clergymen will naturally feel themselves embarrassed and tempted to become unfaithful, (if they do not possess a large share of decision of character,) when they are situated like the one, whom Mr. W. has also spoken of, in page 421 of his book. Those lords and ladies who, during the shooting season, visit their estates in the neighborhood of some small village, and announce to the pastor beforehand their intention to attend church, or command the message, if indisposition occurs in the mean time; and who at best favor the church with only half a day's attendance, can hardly be expected by their formality and parade to make themselves agreeable to the manly, honest feelings of a servant of Christ, or to aid his fidelity, while they will certainly much disturb a humble and simple-minded congregation.

From such unpropitious influences on the ministry we are free, and doubtless the good men beyond the water, rise in a measure above them. Still they must have a degree of effect on the ministry at large, and produce those modifications of a preached gospel, which we have attempted to describe. Other influences, however, may be peculiarly in their favor, and do much to neutralize the effects of those that are adverse, or render them less mischievous than they otherwise would be. Among these, we would barely mention the situation of that large class of the British population, called *operatives*, whose dependence seems favorable to the influence of religion over them, in those instances, where the patrons or pastors of the church interest themselves, in the spiritual welfare of these poor but industrious people. Many of the touching tracts

or little pieces of Mrs. Moore, Mr. Richmond, and others, are founded on such a state of things; and show what facilities, the situation of this class of people affords to the benignant labors of the gospel ministry, and how great is the influence which true religion may be made to exert over them. The beautiful lines of Goldsmith, on the Country Clergyman, seem certainly to be justified by the existence of such an influence, whether the poet, in the particular instance described, had facts in his mind or not.

The service past, around the pious man,
With ready zeal, each honest rustic ran;
Even children followed with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown, to share the good man's smile.

In this country the clergy do not exert, in any peculiar degree, such an influence or enjoy such an intercourse, since there are very few in the community, who are willing to be known as dependent, or to be ranked in the class denominated the poor.

On the whole, we rejoice to acknowledge, that christianity as *practised* in Great Britain, notwithstanding some deficiencies as it is preached, even among the evangelical class of divines, appears to comparative advantage. And this is the fact not only among the lower, but, in a measure, among the higher orders of British society. There seems to be a real foundation for our tourist's remark, before introduced, that a higher tone of piety prevails, than would be expected from the general style of pulpit instruction, to whatever cause it may be ascribed—whether to the spiritual character of the liturgy, as he is disposed to think, or more, as we believe, to other circumstances. We have ever supposed that much genuine religion exists, in the various branches that constitute the visible church of God, in Great Britain. It is needless to say how greatly we admire that vigorous piety, which has so often sprung up in her favored soil. We love to think of her holy and devoted missionaries, who in the spirit of Martin, Ward, and Carey, go into all the world, carrying the light of the gospel to the dark-minded pagan—of those of her ecclesiastical dignitaries, who, like Leighton and Porteus, not only adorn literature, but are zealous for the interests of pure, and undefiled religion, and of that increasing number of her lower clergy, who, with a small stipend, "with forty pounds a year," or less, are "passing rich" in good works, exhibiting a consecration of body and soul to the service of Christ, beyond all praise. We only wish that there were more such men, and that the tone of piety in the community at large, was much higher than it appears to be. That the triumphs of the gospel are greater than would be expected, from the generality of English preaching, is justly an occasion of gratitude to God. But it might be hoped, that those triumphs would

be greatly augmented, if a different and improved strain of preaching were more commonly to prevail : if not only the weekly dispensers of morality in the establishment, were to become evangelical, but all the evangelical were to follow more nearly the example of the pungent, thorough-going few, who themselves are humble imitators of Christ and his apostles.

ART. VII.—REVIEW OF AN ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, AND AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF WATERTOWN.

Hinsley.

An Address to the citizens of Boston, on the 17th of September 1830, 'the close of the second century from the settlement of the city.' By JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D. President of Harvard University. Boston: 1830.

An Historical Sketch of Watertown in Massachusetts, from the first settlement of the town, to the close of its second century. By CONVERS FRANCIS, Congregational Minister of Watertown. Cambridge: 1830.

IT is hardly ten years since the celebration of the close of the second century, from the landing of the fathers of New-England at Plymouth. Similar celebrations are now following each other in rapid succession, in the other principal towns of Massachusetts. These are events in which all New-England very naturally feels an interest ; as the old colony of Plymouth, and a few towns on the coast of Massachusetts bay, were the nurseries of nearly the whole New-England population. This is especially true of Connecticut. The first settlers in Hartford, and several of the other towns on Connecticut river, had resided some time in the neighborhood of Boston, before their removal to the west ; and the original colonists of New-Haven, likewise, had previously visited Massachusetts. Indeed, few of the first English inhabitants of Connecticut came directly from Europe, to the places of their final settlement. Many towns in Connecticut were settled in part at a later period from Massachusetts, by persons of the second and third generations from the original English emigrants. But there were other circumstances which served to unite the first inhabitants of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and of the other New-England colonies, by the strong bonds of mutual regard and sympathy. They had all been driven from their homes by the same persecution, they professed the same faith, and had generally the same views, and pursued the same measures, in establishing their new commonwealths. The course of events down to the war of the revolution, was such as to strengthen these early ties of feeling and interest ; and since the acquisition of our independence, the descendants of the pilgrims, who are scattered through all the states of the union, though mem-

bers of new communities, and such as were originally established on somewhat different principles, yet with few and inconsiderable exceptions, cherish the remembrance of their origin, and show a marked respect and reverence for their ancestors. Whatever, therefore, illustrates the history of the first settlements in New-England, is sure to be favorably received by multitudes throughout our widely extended territories.

The means of elucidating the early history of New-England have been greatly increased within the last forty years. Through the labors of societies and individuals, many historical documents of great value have been brought to light; and some additional information from the same sources, may still be expected. The great business however, of combining and properly digesting the mass of historical materials now within our reach, and of exhibiting a just estimate of transactions and of characters, cannot soon be completed. But every year brings new accessions even here to our stock of acquisitions: and the celebrations to which we have alluded, are occasions to which we may justly look, not only for new facts and new elucidations of our early annals, but for fuller exhibitions than we have hitherto had, of the great principles which guided the founders of these northern republics.

Boston, as the capital of New-England, ought of course to take a prominent part in these centennial celebrations. Its citizens are to a great extent, descendants of the original settlers, and there is no place where the early New-England history is better known. The Address of President Quincy is such an one, as the occasion demanded. The orator gives a rapid sketch of the political and moral state of England and of Europe, at the time when the colonization of New-England was begun; of the principles of the early colonists; and the reasons of some of their most important laws and institutions. He notices various facts in the history of Boston, illustrative of the character of its citizens,—as seen in their "clear conceptions of duty; bold vindication of right; and readiness to incur dangers and meet sacrifices in the maintenance of liberty, civil and religious." After some remarks on the situation of New-England generally, the address closes with a powerful call on the citizens of Boston, the men of Massachusetts, and the descendants of the early emigrants, to "consider their blessings and to consider their duties."

That one great object of the emigration of our ancestors was religious liberty, and that they were compelled to abandon their homes through dread of the English hierarchy, is well known; but few, we believe, in these days of religious freedom absolute and unlimited, form a just estimate of the amount of evil from which our ancestors fled, and which for a long time threatened them, even in their distant retreat. Without noticing, at present, the oppres-

sion which drove from England the first fugitives to Plymouth, we will advert for a moment to the state of things, when the settlements in New-England began to draw the attention of the civil and ecclesiastical powers at home. President Quincy has given an extract from the commission to archbishop Laud and others, in the year 1634, to regulate the affairs of the plantations. We will give a somewhat larger view of this instrument, especially as the powers it conferred were in full operation when Governor Eaton, the Rev. John Davenport, and their associates, who planted the New-Haven colony, left England.

The Latin original of this commission may be seen in Hazard's collection of state papers, and a translation of it in Hubbard's general history of New-England. It is addressed by king Charles, "to the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well beloved counsellor William,* by the providence of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England," and ten other persons. The commission, after reciting the fact that English colonies had been established in several parts of the world, states that the king has been graciously pleased to provide for their "ease and tranquility," and authorizes the persons therein named, "to make laws, ordinances, and constitutions, concerning either the state public of the said colonies, or utility of private persons, and their lands, goods, debts, and succession within the precincts of the same," &c. After which we find this clause:—"And for relief and support of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the souls of our people living in those parts, and for consigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tithes, oblations, and other profits accruing, according to your good discretion, with the advice of two or three of our bishops, whom you shall see fit to call unto your consultations, touching the distribution of such maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters ecclesiastical; and to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitutions and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or *by loss of life or members*, according as the quality of the offense shall require."

The commissioners are farther authorized, to remove, with the royal assent, all governors of colonies, and to appoint others in their stead, to punish those whom they shall judge delinquent, by mulcts and penalties, to appoint judges to determine civil causes, and to establish *ecclesiastical courts*, with such powers, as to the commissioners with the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury should seem meet, &c. This was placing the colonies entirely at the mercy of the English church. The true character of the measures contemplated by the commission will be more distinctly per-

* Laud.

ceived, by recollecting that the colonies of New-England, which were brought within its operation, had been planted by men who sacrificed all that is commonly considered necessary to external comfort and happiness, for the sake of enjoying liberty of conscience. These colonies had been established and defended at the expense of the colonists themselves. But for their "*ease and tranquility*," the very church from which they had fled, was now to be forced upon them, under the penalty of the "loss of life or members," in case of resistance. Here we see the principal reason for the regulation originally adopted in Massachusetts, and afterwards introduced among the fundamental laws of the colony of New-Haven, viz. that the power of voting and of holding any civil office, should be confined to church members. This rule was established to secure, as well their civil as their religious freedom. It was essential to the existence among them, as they thought, of any thing like self-government, that all emissaries of the hierarchy should be excluded from every office, where they could use any influence towards introducing among them the very ecclesiastical tyranny, from which they had fled. The power of the archbishop, if predominant, would have led the way to the prostration of all civil power in the colonial authorities, and New-England would have been governed at the discretion of the crown. This was undoubtedly the view of the subject entertained by the colonists themselves. They were well aware of the dangers which threatened them, they had well considered their means of avoiding these dangers, and they ought not to be censured by those who judge of this feature of their government, only from the present circumstances of our country. The following remarks of President Quincy we consider important and just.

On the subject of religious liberty, their intolerance of other sects has been reprobated as an inconsistency, and as violating the very rights of conscience for which they emigrated. The inconsistency, if it exist, is altogether constructive, and the charge proceeds on a false assumption. The *necessity* of the policy, considered in connection with their great design of independence, is apparent. They had abandoned house and home, had sacrificed the comforts of kindred and cultivated life, had dared the dangers of the sea, and were then braving the still more appalling terrors of the wilderness; and for what?—to acquire liberty for all sorts of consciences? Not so; but to vindicate and maintain the liberty of their own consciences. They did not cross the Atlantic, on a crusade in behalf of the rights of mankind in general, but in support of their own rights and liberties. Tolerate! Tolerate whom? The legate of the Roman Pontiff, or the emissary of Charles the First and Archbishop Laud? How consummate would have been their folly and madness, to have fled into the wilderness to escape the horrible persecutions of those hierarchies, and at once have admitted into the bosom of their society, men brandishing, and ready to apply, the very flames and fetters from which they had fled! Those who are disposed to condemn them on this account, neither realize the necessities of their condition, nor the prevailing character

of the times. Under the stern discipline of Elizabeth and James, the stupid bigotry of the First Charles, and the spiritual pride of Archbishop Laud, the spirit of the British hierarchy was very different from that which it assumed, when, after having been tamed and humanized under the wholesome discipline of Cromwell and his commonwealth, it yielded itself to the mild influence of the principles of 1688, and to the liberal spirit of Tillotson.

But it is said, if they did not tolerate their ancient persecutors, they might, at least, have tolerated rival sects. That is, they ought to have tolerated sects imbued with the same principles of intolerance as the transatlantic hierarchies; sects, whose first use of power would have been to endeavor to uproot the liberty of our fathers, and persecute them, according to the known principles of sectarian action, with a virulence in the inverse ratio of their reciprocal likeness and proximity. Those, who thus reason and thus condemn, have considered but very superficially the nature of the human mind and its actual condition in the time of our ancestors. pp. 25, 26.

After remarking, that the great doctrine, now so universally recognized, that liberty of conscience is the right of the individual, was scarcely, at that time, known, except in private theory, and that it is a hard lesson taught under the lash of severe discipline, he adds,

Had our early ancestors adopted the course we, at this day, are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy. It cannot be questioned, that all the fond hopes they had cherished from emigration would have been lost. The agents of Charles and James would have planted here the standard of the transatlantic monarchy and hierarchy. Divided and broken, without practical energy, subject to court-influences and court-favorites, New-England at this day would have been a colony of the parent state, her character yet to be formed and her independence yet to be vindicated. p. 28.

It ought not to be inferred, that the first colonists of New-England charged all their sufferings on the church from which they fled, or that they universally cherished against it strong feelings of hostility. They were, indeed, no believers in the divine right of episcopacy, and wished for greater liberty in the use of ceremonies, than the church was disposed to grant them; but of the church itself they often spoke with affection. They considered themselves as forcibly driven from its precincts, when the ecclesiastical authorities enjoined upon them observances, for which there was no warrant in the scriptures, and which their consciences rejected. Their real disposition towards the church of England is so well expressed in the address of the first emigrants to Massachusetts, as they were about sailing from Yarmouth, to their brethren of that church, that though often published, we will quote a single passage from it here. In this address they say,

"Howsoever your charity may have met with some occasions of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the dis-

affection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather amongst us, for we are not of those who dream of perfection in this world; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country where she specially resideth, without much soreness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts; we leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her," &c.

We would mention likewise in this connection, as illustrating the feelings of our ancestors towards the church of England, that in "the heads of agreement" adopted by the churches of Connecticut in 1708, it is said, that they think it a sufficient profession of faith, for any church to "own the doctrinal part of those commonly called the articles of the church of England." It is, indeed, so common to charge the first settlers of New-England with an exclusive spirit as it respects other sects, and to hold them up as very *ultras* in bigotry, that we will here also introduce an extract from a sermon by the Rev. J. Robinson, the pastor of the church, which formed the first Plymouth colony. This extract, likewise, has been often printed, but our readers, it is hoped will excuse the printing of it again.

"If God reveal any thing to you," says this puritan divine to his church, "be as ready to receive it, by any other instrument of his, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, that the Lord has more truths yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a *period* in religion, and will go at present, no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. Whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left, by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember, it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truths shall be made known to you, from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal, entreat you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible that the christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

We would here ask, who at that period expressed sentiments, we will not say, more catholic than these, but as catholic? If any

one, his name has not reached us. The Rev. Mr. Prince in his chronology, in reference to this extract, says very justly, that it contains "words almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry, which then prevailed in the English nation." In reference to the disposition of the first puritan emigrants to this country, we will add only, that there is good reason to adopt as correct the declaration of one of their early descendants as quoted by Hutchinson, "that if the bishops in the reign of king Charles the First had been of the same spirit with those of the reign of king William, there would have been no New-England."

That one great object of the emigration of our ancestors was religious liberty, and that they were compelled to abandon their homes through dread of the English hierarchy, is well known; that civil independence was an object which they also had in view, as the necessary means of securing religious independence, has been less frequently insisted on, though it is abundantly evident from the records they have left us. On this subject President Quincy remarks,

The question has often been raised, when and by whom the idea of independence of the parent state was first conceived, and by whose act a settled purpose to effect it was first indicated. History does not permit the people of Massachusetts to make a question of this kind. The honor of that thought, and of as efficient a declaration of it as in their circumstances was possible, belongs to Winthrop and Dudley, and Saltonstall, and their associates, and was included in the declaration, "the only condition on which they with their families would remove to this country, was that the patent and charter should remove with them."

This simple declaration and resolve included, as they had the sagacity to perceive, all the consequences of an effectual independence, under a nominal subjection. For protection against foreign powers, a charter from the parent state was necessary. Its transfer to New England vested, effectually, independence. pp. 22, 23.

This subject is further illustrated in a note to the address, by copious extracts from Chalmer's "Political Annals of the United Colonies." That independence of the parent state was a favorite object with the principal civil characters among the first emigrants, and that this object was kept steadily in view by many of their descendants, there is no reason to doubt. That less should have been said on this subject, than on that of religious freedom and independence, is easily accounted for. Civil independence could not with safety be mentioned as the final object of the colonial politicians, so long as the colonies were in nominal subjection to England; and as much of our early history was written by the clergy, who naturally gave their chief attention to the predominating motive of the first colonists, which was certainly religious liberty, less attention has been paid to the opinions and designs of the early civilians. But the reason for surprise is not, that so little, but that so much

was said on a topic, which, though near the hearts of the first colonists, there was peculiar delicacy in openly discussing.

We will make one more extract from this address, as it contains observations, in the correctness and importance of which we suppose all our readers will unite.

What then, in conclusion of this great topic, are the elements of the liberty, prosperity, and safety, which the inhabitants of New England at this day enjoy? In what language, and concerning what comprehensive truths, does the wisdom of former times address the inexperience of the future?

Those elements are simple, obvious, and familiar.

Every civil and religious blessing of New England, all that here gives happiness to human life, or security to human virtue, is alone to be perpetuated in the forms and under the auspices of a free commonwealth.

The commonwealth itself has no other strength or hope, than the intelligence and virtue of the individuals that compose it.

For the intelligence and virtue of individuals, there is no other human assurance than laws, providing for the education of the whole people.

These laws themselves have no strength, or efficient sanction, except in the moral and accountable nature of man, disclosed in the records of the christian's faith; the right to read, to construe, and to judge concerning which, belongs to no class or cast of men, but exclusively to the individual; who must stand or fall by his own acts and his own faith, and not by those of another.

The great comprehensive truths, written in letters of living light on every page of our history,—the language addressed by every past age of New England to all future ages is this;—Human happiness has no perfect security but freedom;—freedom none but virtue;—virtue none but knowledge; and neither freedom, nor virtue, nor knowledge has any vigor, or immortal hope, except in the principles of the christian faith, and in the sanctions of the christian religion. pp. 52, 53.

The munificence of Boston towards objects of public interest or charity is universally acknowledged; and in this respect, among the cities of our country, it has long held a most honorable distinction. From the statements in this address it appears, that for objects of a public nature, for the relief of suffering, and the patronage of distinguished merit or talent, the citizens of Boston have given within the last thirty years, by voluntary donation or bequest, a sum exceeding one million eight hundred thousand dollars. This amount is supposed to be much short of the reality, and to be only an approximation to the truth.

The existence of WATERTOWN as a distinct corporation, dates from the same day as that of Boston. On the arrival of the fleet of Governor Winthrop in 1630, some of the adventurers, who then came to New-England, selected a place on the banks of Charles river for their plantation. On the 7th of September, (or the 17th according to our present reckoning,) of the same year, it was ordered by the proper authority, that "Trimontain be called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; and the town upon Charles river, Watertown." The

address of the Rev. Mr. Francis at the celebration of the completion of the second century from the settlement of Watertown, has been enlarged by the author, and published as an "historical sketch." This sketch is very judiciously executed, and contains an interesting detail of facts, to those who are lovers of minute accounts of the early transactions in the first New-England towns. It must be peculiarly valuable to the inhabitants of Watertown; and to others it may be recommended as containing in its outline, the principal topics of historical inquiry, to be expected or desired in the annals of the original establishments made by our ancestors. A considerable proportion of this history, is of course ecclesiastical. The civil part is somewhat diversified by the events in the first part of the revolutionary contest. In the year 1776, the provincial congress held their session at Watertown, and this congress was succeeded by the General Assembly of the colony. The inhabitants of Boston held also in Watertown several town meetings. It is not easy to abridge this memoir. Some few circumstances only will be alluded to.

Sir Richard Saltonstall and the Rev. George Phillips, were the Moses and Aaron of Watertown. Sir Richard, however, staid in the colony but a short time. But though he returned to England, he left his two oldest sons to carry on the great work which he had begun; and the interests of Massachusetts were always uppermost in his thoughts and affections. He was one of the earliest benefactors of Harvard College; and his letter to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson ministers of Boston, on the subject of religious toleration, is "remarkable for the times in which he lived, and presents to the eye of the historical inquirer, a trait of character as honorable and attractive as it was uncommon." His interest in New-England extended beyond the Massachusetts plantation. As a patentee, in company with Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook, and others, he was engaged in the settlement of Connecticut. He died about the year 1658, and is justly reckoned among the fathers of New-England. The Rev. George Phillips died in 1644, and his loss was felt through the town and colony. The late lieutenant-governor Phillips of Boston, was a descendant of the first minister in Watertown.

Mr. Phillips was succeeded in the ministry by the Rev. John Sherman. This gentleman came to New-England in 1634. He afterwards removed to New-Haven, but returned to Massachusetts, quitted his profession, went into civil life, and was chosen a magistrate of the colony. On the death of Mr. Phillips, he resumed the sacred office, and became pastor of the church in Watertown. Mr. Sherman, besides being distinguished as a divine and a preacher made uncommon attainments in mathematical and astronomical knowledge. He died in 1685, aged eighty-two years. It is related as one of the remarkable circumstances in his history,

that he was the father of twenty-six children, by two marriages, six in the first, and twenty in the second. His second wife was grand-daughter of the Earl of Rivers, whose family belonged to the Roman Catholic party in England. Before her marriage she was under the guardianship of Gov. Hopkins of Connecticut. At her death in 1710, the selectmen to show their respect for this mother in their Israel, voted to "provide wine and gloves sufficient for the funeral at the town's cost, not exceeding ten pounds." The Hon. Roger Sherman of New-Haven, was a descendant of Capt. John Sherman, who settled in Watertown in 1635, and who was probably a relative of the minister.

During the time the British forces held possession of Boston, in 1776, one of the editors of the Boston Gazette found means to escape to Watertown with a part of his printing apparatus. Here the Gazette was published till October of the succeeding year, and was the vehicle of numerous spirited essays, exhortations and addresses to the people, indicative of the strong political excitement of the times. We are presented from this paper with the following *jeu d'esprit* in reference to the evacuation of Boston.

We hear that last Lord's day se'night, the Rev. Mr. Bridge of Chelmsford, preached a most animating discourse from these words in the second of Kings vii. 7. "Wherefore they arose, and fled in the twilight, and left their tents and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life." This passage of scripture is a good description of the late flight of our ministerial enemies; for they left their tents, and their horses, and a number of *tories* for *asses*.

Among the remarks which follow the conclusion of the narrative, we find the following to which we invite the attention of our readers.

It should be remembered, however, that higher interests than those of knowledge are committed, as an inestimable deposit, to every town among us; I mean the interests of morals and religion. Here, too, the State has a claim upon all its parts; for religion belongs to the community, and blesses the community. They make but a defective estimate, who treat it merely as a concern between the individual and his God. It is this; but it is likewise more than this. It is a matter between the members of society, as such, a matter in which they have a strong mutual interest. Religion goes beyond the breast of the individual and beyond the family circle. It travels through society, and scatters blessings as it goes; it gives security to rights, to property, and to enjoyments; it controls if it does not extinguish the passions from which spring encroachment and oppression; it acts upon the whole while it acts upon the parts, and spreads the broad wing of its love over the community at large, as well as over your own dwelling.—We surely want something to penetrate the whole mass of society, and operate as a restraint upon that pestilent ambition, which aims only at self-aggrandizement, and, so it can build a triumphal arch to its own glory, cares not how abject, and miserable are the crowds that gaze upon it. We want something that will give a solemn sanction to sound and wholesome laws, and to the sacred institutions of order and justice. We want something that will prevent passion or selfishness from sweeping away the landmarks of

venerable principles, that will not suffer licentiousness, under the abused name of freedom, to confound the essential distinctions, which God has instituted in the very nature of human society. The power that will do all this, is to be found only in moral and religious influence, an influence guarded and guided so wisely, that it shall surround us like the air we breathe, vitally important, and felt not by its pressure, but by its refreshing and beneficial agency.

In the ridicule, which numerous writers, some from ignorance of the truth and others from reasons less defensible, have attempted to throw upon the early laws and customs of New England, the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, have had, as it has always appeared to us, a disproportionate share. Indeed, the first settlers in these colonies have been so often represented as narrow-minded and bigoted beyond all their contemporaries, and as exhibiting in their early regulations the extreme of puritanical precision, that many who ought to be better informed, seem disposed to believe all this without qualification or reserve. Partial extracts from the early records of these colonies, almost always without the requisite explanations, and distorted to answer some unworthy purpose, are circulated as furnishing just views of early Connecticut legislation, society and manners. Who has not heard of the New-Haven *blue-laws*? There are those, no doubt, who believe, that a code having this name actually existed. As we may not have soon a better opportunity for the purpose, we will here make a few remarks on this subject.

When New-Haven was settled in April 1638, the colonists were few in number, and too far remote from the other English settlements, to receive from them any effectual assistance, in case they should be attacked by the savages. As they were beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and in a wilderness, of the extent and condition of which they knew almost nothing except what was before their eyes, they were strictly in that state, which philosophers have called a *state of nature*. Their first care was to secure some union among themselves; and for this purpose they formed and subscribed what they called a "plantation covenant." By this instrument, they engaged, "that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all of them, be ordered by the rules which the scripture held forth to them." The Rev. John Davenport had before preached to them on the "temptations of the wilderness," and the plantation covenant was subscribed at the close of a day of fasting and prayer. This mode of making constitutions of government, or of altering them when made, is, indeed, not at present in fashion. But the constitution itself, was all, as the

colonists themselves seem to have thought, that was wanted. Had Gov. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, or any other one of the company, taken upon himself to act the part of a Lycurgus or a Solon, and to compile a complete code of laws for the colony, there can be no doubt, that, with such knowledge as they then possessed of what would be their necessities, a large part of the regulations so made would have been soon found wholly inapplicable to the circumstances of the new society, and that most that was really needed, would have been wholly unprovided for. They were opposed to works of supererogation; and their constitution, though a short one, answered to begin with. The next thing they did, was to purchase of the natives the land which they wished to occupy. For this land, they gave what at the time was a fair equivalent, engaged to allow the Indians to come within their limits if assaulted by other Indians, and to hunt and fish on these same grounds, as they had done before. We see nothing yet in the proceedings of these emigrants either ridiculous or absurd. We question, at least, whether any modern transactions with Indians for their lands, have been more fair and equitable.

The next year, 1639, these new colonists, as there had been time to consider their situation, and judge what changes were necessary in their government, undertook to revise their constitution. Time was given for full discussion of all the proposed changes, and the constitution was subscribed by the planters. By one article in this constitution, it was determined, that church-members only should be free burgesses; and that they only should choose magistrates among themselves, and have power to transact all the civil affairs of the plantation. This was copied from Massachusetts, and one principal motive for this regulation, as stated above, was to guard against those, who might wish to subject them to the ecclesiastical, and through that to the absolute civil, power of the mother country. But though it was determined, that none should be admitted free burgesses within the jurisdiction, but such planters as were members of some one of the approved churches of New-England, it was determined that "all others admitted to be planters should have right to their proper inheritances, and to enjoy all other civil liberties and privileges, according to all laws, orders, or grants, which were or should be made for the colony." All the magistrates of the colony were to be chosen annually in May, by the freemen, "on the last fourth day in the week commonly called Wednesday." They might vote either "in person or by proxy." It was ordained that there should be "several courts for several purposes, and of different institutions and powers." First, a general court, which was to consist of the governor, deputy governor, and the magistrates, and two deputies for each plantation in the jurisdiction. This was the legislature of the colony. This body was required among other things, "to provide for the maintenance of the purity

of religion," to require an oath from all the magistrates, deputies, etc. "to call them to an account for the breach of any laws established, or for other misdemeanors in their places," to impose an oath of fidelity on "all freemen, planters, and inhabitants fit to take an oath," to order "such works and fortifications as they conceived might tend to the better defense of the colony," to regulate trade, to lay taxes, and to hear and determine causes civil or criminal, in the last resort.

The second court was called a court of magistrates, and was to sit at New-Haven twice a year, to hear and determine causes above those limited to plantation courts, and likewise appeals from the plantation courts. Various other powers and duties were assigned to this court of magistrates. The third court was the plantation court in each plantation or town. This court consisted of the magistrates of the town, with at least two deputies chosen by the freemen of the town to assist them. This court had power to try any civil cause, where the sum in question did not exceed twenty pounds, and any criminal cause, "when the punishment, by scripture light, exceeded not stocking and whipping." The powers of these several courts are defined much more in detail, but no mention is made of a jury. To provide for alterations and amendments in the constitution, it is stated in their book of laws, that "these generals were at first laid as a foundation for government, though it was foreseen and agreed, that the circumstantial—might after be further considered, continued or altered, as might best suit the course of justice, and the conveniency of the plantations." It deserves to be remarked, that in no part of these transactions is there any allusion to England or to any other country or government. These colonists evidently considered themselves as without the jurisdiction of any other power, and as having full right to constitute a government for themselves; which they did in a mode more exactly accordant with the views of some theoretical writers, than we know any example of, either in ancient or modern times. The whole community assembled, discussed the principles of their government, adopted a constitution unanimously; and there is no evidence that any authority was ever exercised in the colony, which was not freely granted by those who were subject to it. Thus far we see nothing ridiculous, nothing which shows want of common sense, nothing which is not even philosophical. It may indeed, be objected, that they relied more on the scriptures as the rule of their political proceedings, than some who are called philosophers would approve. But before they are condemned on this ground, it should be made to appear, how, in their circumstances, they could have done better. Samuel Desborough and William Leet, were no doubt well acquainted with the laws of England, but they hesitated to introduce the English code at once into this small colony.

The direction to the courts, therefore was, to proceed in cases "not particularly determined in scripture, according to the more general rules of righteousness." The design obviously was to found a commonwealth decidedly christian in its laws and administration, and that the course of legal proceedings should be varied and improved from time to time as circumstances should show changes to be necessary. Let the plan of government first adopted in the New-Haven Colony, be compared with the constitution of South Carolina which was drawn up by the celebrated Mr. Locke, and let the comparison be made strictly in reference to the character and circumstances of those, who in each case were to be the subjects of government, and then let the question be decided, who showed the most practical wisdom? We have no hesitation in saying, that the palm belongs to the New-Haven colonists.

As soon as the government was organized, the general court began the business of legislation, and the first statute appears to have been this. "It is ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that no man's life shall be taken away, no man's honor or good name shall be stained, no man's person shall be imprisoned, banished, or otherwise punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken from him under color of law or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of this jurisdiction established by the general court, and sufficiently published, or for want of a law in any particular case, by the word of God," &c. Here again we see nothing to laugh at.

The wisdom of these founders of the colony of New-Haven is nowhere more evident than in the provision which they made for schools. We will here copy at length the original statute on this subject; and we ask it as a favor of those who shall hereafter speak contemptuously of the early New-Haven laws, by no means to forget the law entitled of "childrens' education."

Whereas too many parents and masters, either through an over tender respect to their own occasions and business, or not duly considering the good of their children, and apprentices, have too much neglected duty in their education, while they are young and capable of learning,—it is ordered, that the deputies for the particular court, in each plantation within this jurisdiction for the time being;—or when there are no such deputies, the constable or other officer or officers in public trust, shall from time to time, have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors within the limits of the said plantation, that all parents and masters, do duly endeavor, either by their own ability and labor, or by improving such schoolmaster, or other helps and means as the plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide, that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may through God's blessing, attain at least so much, as to be able duly to read the scriptures, and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the

christian religion necessary to salvation ; and to give an answer to such plain and ordinary questions as may by the said deputies, officer, or officers, be propounded concerning the same. And where such deputies or officers, whether by information or examination, shall find any parent or master one or more negligent, he or they shall first have warning, and if thereupon due reformation follow, if the said parents or masters shall thenceforth seriously and constantly apply themselves to their duty in the manner before expressed, the former neglect may be passed by ; but if not, then the said deputies, or other officer or officers, shall three months after such warning, present each such negligent person or persons, to the next plantation court, when every such delinquent upon proof, shall be fined ten shillings to the plantation, to be levied as other fines. And if in any plantation, there be no such court kept for the present, in such case the constable or other officer or officers, warning such person or persons before the freemen, or so many of them as upon notice shall meet together, and proving the neglect after warning shall have power to levy the fine as aforesaid : but if in three months after that, there be no due care taken and continued for the education of such children or apprentices as aforesaid, the delinquent, without any further private warning, shall be proceeded against as before, but the fine doubled. And lastly, if after the said warning, and fines paid or levied, the said deputies, officer or officers, shall still find a continuance of the former negligence, if it be not obstinacy, or that such children or servants may be in danger to grow barbarous, rude, and stubborn through ignorance, they shall give due and seasonable notice, that every such parent and master be summoned to the next court of magistrates, who are to proceed as they find cause, either to a greater fine, taking security for due conformity to the scope and intent of this law, or may take such children or apprentices from such parents or masters, and place them for years, boys till they come to the age of one and twenty, and girls till they come to the age of eighteen years, with such others, who shall better educate and govern them, both for public convenience, and for the particular good of the said children or apprentices."

Here it may be asked, where among the remains we have of the labors of the ancient lawgivers, shall we find any thing on the subject of education to be compared with this ! Shall we look for it in the legislation of Lycurgus or Solon, among the laws of the twelve tables, so justly celebrated in Rome, or in times nearer our own, in the laws of England, under which these emigrants had lived ? In all these places we shall search in vain for a parallel, nor have the laws of England any provision for general education like this, to the present day. This law entitles those who enacted it, and executed it, for this law was not a dead letter, to the lasting respect and gratitude of posterity ; and if every law, which has been reported as theirs, however ridiculous, was the genuine production of those legislators, the single law of "children's education," ought to be sufficient, not merely to secure their characters from disgrace, but to crown them with honor.

In 1654, Mr. Davenport brought forward a plan of a college "for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public service in church and commonwealth." To this institution the town of New-Haven made a donation of lands, and Gov. Hop-

kins a donation in money. This college became a public grammar school, and is still continued. Yale-College is a different institution.

We might proceed to copy other laws from the early New-Haven code; but the spirit of this early legislature and the objects which they aimed at, may be seen from the specimens already given, and we have not space for many more extracts. We will, therefore, say generally, that their laws though strict, could not be oppressive to any one disposed to live a regular and honest life. For the support of religion, the law stood thus. Certain magistrates were to call on all the inhabitants, and desire every one "to set down the proportion he is willing and able to allow yearly, while God continues his estate, towards the maintenance of the ministry;" and if any one should refuse or delay, or set down an "unmeat proportion," the magistrates were authorized "to assess every such person, according to his visible estate, with due moderation, and in equal proportion with his neighbors." In the law of "marriage" is this clause; "no man unless he be a magistrate in this jurisdiction, or expressly allowed by the general court, shall marry any persons;" and in the law of "divorce," we find this provision, that if any husband without just cause shall desert his wife, or a wife her husband, "after due means have been used to convince and reclaim, the husband or wife so deserted may justly seek and expect help and relief, according to 1 Cor, vii. 15, and the court upon satisfactory evidence thereof, may not hold the innocent party under bondage." These laws undoubtedly received the sanction of Mr. Davenport. There was a law against individuals purchasing lands of the Indians, without public authority, and generally regulating all transactions with them. "Wine, strong water and strong beer" were not to be sold to any Indians, without "special licence" from a magistrate. Some of the laws in this code would now probably by many be thought quite too severe, and far behind the spirit of the present age. For instance, there is a law against "lying," in which it is forbidden under heavy penalties "to abuse the people with false news, or reports."

The constitution of the colonial government of New-Haven, was formed as above stated in the year 1639. Laws were subsequently made by the legislature, as the circumstances of the colony showed them to be necessary. In the year 1656 these laws, the constitution, or what was called the "fundamental agreement," with the articles of confederation between the plantations of Massachusetts Plymouth Connecticut and New-Haven prefixed, were collected for publication by Governor Eaton, and printed in London for the use of the colony. A copy of this work is now before us, of which we have made use in preparing the preceding statements. Hubbard, in his general history of New-England says in

reference to the New-Haven colonists, "that they were vigorous in the execution of justice, and especially in the punishment of offenders, and that with great authority under the countenance of Mr. Eaton, having compiled by his help a body of very substantial and distinct laws." The same historian says, that the execution of law among the colonists of New-Haven, was "without a jury, their main difference from their brethren, which was so settled upon some reasons urged by Mr. Eaton, a great reader and traveler, against that way." He adds, "for their church settlements, they were extraordinarily exact and thorough" and that in this respect, "New-Haven was exemplary to other plantations; in which their proceedings, if any differently persuaded shall judge they were over strict, yet the commendable care and zeal for the truth and power of religion, therein appearing, cannot but have a sweet savor to the present age, and to future generations." He says, however, that the people of New-Haven "were very much exercised and humbled by the outbreaking, by a strange kind of *antiperistasis*, at several times, of very gross iniquities." New-Haven suffered very little from the Indians, which Hubbard attributes to "a due carefulness in doing justice to them upon all occasions," a fact which should not be forgotten in forming our estimate of the character of this colony.

Though the laws of New-Haven were generally unexceptionable, yet as the community was small and in its infancy, it was not judged necessary, that these laws should be numerous, and in executing them, much was left to the discretion of the magistrates. That the decisions of these magistrates were for the most part just, we see no reason to doubt. That in applying "the general rules of righteousness," they sometimes noticed mere transgressions of propriety and decorum, in a manner which would certainly now be injudicious, and which even then probably did no good, is fully admitted. But it should be recollected in extenuation, that the colony was in its infancy, and planted by those, who held in utter abomination the corruptions of the old world, and whose great object it was to preserve among themselves and their posterity, purity of religion and purity of morals. From their very zeal, they were liable to error. The colonists also, at first, necessarily lived together, in some respects, as one family. Domestic and public concerns, therefore, were united to a greater extent, than the founders of this colony, would probably themselves have practised in a larger community. They faithfully recorded all their proceedings, however unimportant, and it is from what they have thus left us, that inferences often have been drawn respecting their laws, not warranted by the facts. Most of the decisions, which might be objected to, were made by magistrates acting under very general

powers. Improprieties greater or less, were considered *misdemeanors*, and animadverted upon accordingly.

There was the same course of proceedings in Massachusetts, as any one may see stated at large in the first volume of Hutchinson's History of the planting of that colony. Thus from the records of their criminal courts, it appears, that "Captain Stone for abusing Mr. Ludlow and calling him *justass*, was fined one hundred pounds, etc."—that another individual who had been arraigned, "was admonished to take heed of light carriage,"—and another "for extortion in taking two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence for the wood work of Boston stocks, was fined five pounds, and ordered to be set in the stocks one hour," etc. Hutchinson remarks, that "their sentences seem to be adapted to the circumstances of a large family of children and servants." It is from decisions in the New-Haven Colony of the same general character as the preceding, that inferences have been drawn as to the laws of that colony. The truth is, that nine-tenths of the New-Haven laws were copied from the Massachusetts code; and the decisions in criminal cases in the two colonies were alike. In both, much was left to the discretion of the magistrates.

We could pursue this subject much more into detail, but perhaps we have already wandered too far. Our object in saying thus much on the early history of New-Haven, is to remind those whom it concerns, that the two hundredth anniversary of the commencement of this colony, will arrive in the year 1838. It was on the 18th of the month of April 1638, that John Davenport, preparatory to the establishment of a government by voluntary compact, under a wide spreading oak, in a spot now surrounded by a dense population, preached to a few fugitives from oppression, on "the temptations of the wilderness."—This event at the proper time, should be duly commemorated. The colony as a distinct government, lasted but about twenty-five years, but its transactions deserve a more particular notice, than they have hitherto received. It is to be hoped, that some individual fully competent to the undertaking, will prepare, before the anniversary referred to, an account which shall exhibit the founders of New-Haven as they were, men of great excellences of character, but still not wholly free from the weaknesses of humanity. Let the whole story be told, and the materials for this purpose are not few, and we have no apprehension, that the fathers of the New-Haven colony will suffer by such a disclosure. They will be found on the contrary, to have possessed great resolution and firmness, uncommon disinterestedness, sound discretion and much practical wisdom.

ART. IX.—REVIEW OF BUTLER'S ANALOGY OF NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

Barnes

The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. BY JOSEPH BUTLER, LL. D.

In directing the attention of our readers to the great work whose title we have placed at the head of this article, we suppose we are rendering an acceptable service chiefly to one class. The ministers of religion, we presume, need not our humble recommendation of a treatise so well known as Butler's Analogy. It will not be improper, however, to suggest that even our clerical readers may be less familiar than they should be, with a work which saps all the foundations of unbelief; and may, perhaps, have less faithfully carried out the *principles* of the Analogy, and interwoven them less into their theological system, than might reasonably have been expected. Butler already begins to put on the venerable air of antiquity. He belongs, in the character of his writings at least, to the men of another age. He is abstruse, profound, dry, and to minds indisposed to thought, is often wearisome and disgusting. Even in clerical estimation, then, his work may sometimes be numbered among those repulsive monuments of ancient wisdom, which men of this age pass by indiscriminately, as belonging to times of barbarous strength and unpolished warfare.

But our design in bringing Butler more distinctly before the public eye, has respect primarily to another class of our readers. In an age preeminently distinguished for the short lived productions of the imagination; when reviewers feel themselves bound to serve up to the public taste, rather the deserts and confectionaries of the literary world, than the sound and wholesome fare of other times; when in many places, it is even deemed stupid and old-fashioned to notice an ancient book, or to speak of the wisdom of our fathers; we desire to do what may lie in our power to stay the headlong propensities of the times, and recal the public mind to the records of past wisdom. We have shown in our work indeed, that we have no blind predilection for the principles of other days. We bow down before no opinion because it is ancient. We even feel and believe, that in all the momentous questions pertaining to morals, politics, science, and religion, we are greatly in advance of past ages. And our hearts expand with joy at the prospect of still greater simplicity and clearness, in the statement and defense of the cardinal doctrines of the reformation, to the promotion of which our work has been uniformly devoted. Most of the monuments of past wisdom, we believe capable of improvement in these respects. Thus we regard the works of Luther, Calvin, Beza,

and Owen. We look on them, as vast repositories of learning, piety and genius. In the great doctrines which these works were intended to support, we do firmly believe. Still, though we love to linger in the society of such men; and though our humble intellect bows before them, as in the presence of transcendent genius, yet we feel that in some things their views were darkened by the habits of thinking of a less cultivated age than this; that their *philosophy* was often wrong, while the doctrines which they attempted to defend by it were still correct; and that even they would have hailed, on many topics, the increased illumination of later times. Had modern ways of thinking been applied to their works; had the results of a deeper investigation into the laws of the mind, and the principles of biblical criticism, been in their possession, their works would have been the most perfect records of human wisdom which the world contains.

Some of those great monuments of the power of human thought, however, stand complete. By a mighty effort of genius, their authors seized on truth; they fixed it in permanent forms; they chained down scattered reasonings, and left them to be surveyed by men of less mental stature and far feebler powers. It is a proof of no mean talent now to be able to follow where they lead, to grasp in thought, what they had the power to originate. They framed a complete system at the first touch; and all that remains for coming ages, corresponds to what Johnson has said of poets in respect to Homer, to transpose their arguments, new name their reasonings, and paraphrase their sentiments.* The works of such men are a collection of *principles* to be carried into every region of morals and theology, as a standard of all other views of truth. Such a distinction we are disposed to give to Butler's Analogy; and it is because we deem it worthy of such a distinction, that we now single it out from the great works of the past, and commend it to the attention of our readers.

There are two great departments of investigation, respecting the "analogy of religion to the constitution and course of nature." The one contemplates that analogy as existing between the declarations of the bible, and ascertained facts in the structure of the globe,—the organization of the animal system,—the memorials of ancient history,—the laws of light, heat, and gravitation,—the dimensions of the earth, and the form and motion of the heavenly bodies. From all these sources, objections have been derived against revelation. The most furious attacks have been made, at one time by the geologist, and at another by the astronomer, on one pretense by the antiquarian, and on another by the chemist, against some

* Johnson. Preface to Shakespeare.

part of the system of revealed truth. Yet never have any assaults been less successful. Every effort of this kind has resulted in the establishment of this great truth, that no man has yet commenced an investigation of the works of nature, for the purpose of assailing revelation, who did not ultimately exhibit important facts in its confirmation, just in proportion to his eminence and success in his own department of inquiry. We are never alarmed, therefore, when we see an infidel philosopher of real talents, commence an investigation into the works of nature. We hail his labors as destined ultimately to be auxiliary to the cause of truth. We have learned that here christianity has nothing to fear ; and men of science, we believe, are beginning to understand that here infidelity has nothing to hope. As a specimen of the support which christianity receives from the researches of science, we refer our readers to Ray's *Wisdom of God*, to Paley's *Natural Theology*, and to Dick's *Christian Philosopher*.

The other department of investigation to which we referred, is that which relates to the analogy of revealed truth to the actual facts exhibited in *the moral government of the world*. This is the department which Butler has entered, and which he has so successfully explored. It is obvious that the first is a wider field in regard to the number of facts which bear on the analogy: the latter is more profound and less tangible in relation to the great subjects of theological debate. The first meets more directly the open and plausible objections of the blasphemer ; the latter represses the secret infidelity of the human heart, and silences more effectually the ten thousand clamors which are accustomed to be raised against the peculiar doctrines of the bible. The first is open to successive advances, and will be so, till the whole physical structure of the world is fully investigated and known. The latter we may almost infer seems destined to rest where it now is, and to stand before the world as complete as it ever will be, by one prodigious effort of a gigantic mind. Each successive chemist, antiquarian, astronomer, and anatomist, will throw light on some great department of human knowledge, to be molded to the purposes of religion, by some future Paley, or Dick, or Good ; and in every distinguished man of science, whatever may be his religious feelings, we hail an ultimate auxiliary to the cause of truth. Butler, however, seems to stand alone. No adventurous mind has attempted to press his great principles of thought, still further into the regions of moral inquiry. Though the subject of moral government is better understood now than it was in his day ; though light has been thrown on the doctrines of theology, and a perceptible advance been made in the knowledge of the laws of the mind, yet whoever now wishes to know "the analogy of religion to the constitution and course of nature," has no where else to go but to Butler,—or if he is able to apply

the *principles* of Butler, he has only to incorporate them with his own reasonings, to furnish the solution of those facts and difficulties that "perplex mortals." We do not mean by this, that Butler has exhausted the subject. We mean only that no man has attempted to carry it beyond the point where he left it; and that his work, though not in our view as complete as modern habits of thought would permit it to be, yet stands like one of those vast piles of architecture commenced in the middle ages, proofs of consummate skill, of vast power, of amazing wealth, yet in some respects incomplete or disproportioned, but which no one since has dared to re-model, and which no one, perhaps, has had either the wealth, power, or genius, requisite to make more complete.

Of Butler as a man, little is known. This is one of the many cases, where we are compelled to lament the want of a full and faithful biography. With the leading facts of his life as a parish priest, and a prelate, we are indeed made acquainted. But here our knowledge of him ends. Of Butler as a man of piety, of the secret practical operations of his mind, we know little. Now it is obvious, that we could be in possession of no legacy more valuable in regard to such a man, than the knowledge of the secret feelings of his heart; of the application of his own modes of thinking to his own soul, to subdue the ever varying forms of human weakness and guilt; and of his practical way of obviating, for his personal comfort, the suggestions of unbelief in his own bosom. This fact we know, that he was engaged upon his *Analogy* during a period of twenty years. Yet we know nothing of the effect on his own soul, of the mode in which he blunted and warded off the poisoned shafts of infidelity. Could we see the internal organization of his mind, as we can now see that of Johnson, could we trace the connection between his habits of thought and his pious emotions, it would be a treasure to the world equaled perhaps only by his *Analogy*, and one which we may in vain hope now to possess. The true purposes of biography have been hitherto but little understood. The mere external events pertaining to great men are often of little value. They are *without* the mind, and produce feelings unconnected with any important purposes of human improvement. Who reads now with any emotion except regret that this is all he *can read* of such a man as Butler, that he was born in 1692, graduated at Oxford in 1721, preached at the Rolls till 1726, was made bishop of Durham in 1750, and died in 1752. We learn, indeed, that he was high in favor at the university, and subsequently at court; that he was retiring, modest and unassuming in his deportment; and that his elevation to the Deanry of St. Paul's, and to the princely See of Durham was not the effect of ambition, but the voluntary tribute of those in power to transcendent talent and exalted, though retiring, worth. An instance of his modest

and unambitious habits, given in the record of his life, is worthy of preservation, and is highly illustrative of his character. For seven years he was occupied in the humble and laborious duties of a parish priest, at Stanhope. His friends regretted his retirement, and sought preferment for him. Mr. Secker, an intimate friend of Butler, being made chaplain to the king, in 1732, one day in conversation with Queen Caroline took occasion to mention his friend's name. The queen said she thought he was dead, and asked Archbishop Blackburn if that was not the case. His reply was, "No, madam, but he is buried." He was thus raised again to notice, and ultimately to high honors, in the hierarchy of the English church.

Butler was naturally of a contemplative and somewhat melancholy turn of mind. He sought retirement therefore, and yet needed society. It is probable that natural inclination, as well as the prevalent habits of unbelief in England, suggested the plan of his Analogy. Yet though retiring and unambitious, he was lauded in the days of his advancement, as sustaining the episcopal office with great dignity and splendor; as conducting the ceremonies of religion with a pomp approaching the grandeur of the Roman Catholic form of worship; and as treating the neighboring clergy and nobility with the "pride, pomp, and circumstance," becoming, in their view, a minister of Jesus transformed into a nobleman of secular rank, and reckoned among the great officers of state. These are, in our view, spots in the life of Butler; and all attempts to conceal them, have only rendered them more glaring. No authority of antiquity, no plea of the grandeur of imposing rites, can justify the pomp and circumstance appropriate to an English prelatical bishop, or invest with sacred authority the canons of a church, that appoints the humble ministers of him who had not where to lay his head, to the splendors of a palace or the pretended honors of an archiepiscopal throne—to a necessary alliance, under every danger to personal and ministerial character, with profligate noblemen, or intriguing and imperious ministers. But Butler drew his title to memory in subsequent ages, neither from the tinsel of rank, the staff and lawn of office, nor the attendant pomp and grandeur arising from the possession of one of the richest benefices in England. Butler the *prelate* will be forgotten. Butler the *author of the Analogy* will live to the last recorded time.

In the few remains of the Life of Butler, we lament, still more than any thing we have mentioned, that we learn nothing of his habits of study, his mode of investigation, and especially the *process* by which he composed his Analogy. We are told indeed that it combines the results of his thoughts for twenty years, and his observations and reading during that long period of his life. He is said to have written and re-written different parts of it, to have studied each

word, and phrase, until it expressed precisely his meaning and no more. It bears plenary evidence, that it must have been written by such a condensing and epitomizing process. Any man may be satisfied of this, who attempts to express the thoughts in other language than that employed in the *Analogy*. Instinctively the sentences and paragraphs will swell out to a much greater size, and defy all the powers we possess to reduce them to their primitive dimensions, unless they be driven within the precise enclosures prescribed by the mind of Butler. We regret in vain that this is all our knowledge of the mechanical and mental process by which this book was composed. We are not permitted to see him at his toil, to mark the workings of his mind, and to learn the art of looking intensely at a thought until we see it standing alone, aloof from all attendants, and prepared for a permanent location where the author intended to fix its abode, to be contemplated as he viewed it, in all coming ages. We can hardly repress our indignation, that those who undertake to write the biography of such gifted men, should not tell us less of their bodies, their trappings, their honors and their offices, and more of the workings of the spirit, the process of subjecting and restraining the native wanderings of the mind. Nor can we suppress the sigh of regret that he has not himself revealed to us, what no other man could have done ; and admitted subsequent admirers to the intimacy of friendship, and to a contemplation of the process by which the *Analogy* was conceived and executed. Over the past however it is in vain to sigh. Every man feels that hitherto we have had but little *Biography*. Sketches of the external circumstances of many men we have—genealogical tables without number, and without end—chronicled wonders, that such a man was born and died, ran through such a circle of honors, and obtained such a mausoleum to his memory. But histories of *mind* we have not; and for all the great purposes of knowledge, we should know as much of the *man*, if we had not looked upon the misnamed biography.

We now take leave of Butler as a man, and direct our thoughts more particularly to his great work. Those were dark and portentous times which succeeded the reign of the second Charles. That voluptuous and witty monarch, had contributed more than any mortal before or since his time, to fill a nation with infidels, and debauchees. Corruption had seized upon the highest orders of the state ; and it flowed down on all ranks of the community. Every grade in life had caught the infection of the court. Profligacy is alternately the parent and the child of unbelief. The unthinking multitude of courtiers and flatterers, that fluttered around the court of Charles had learned to scoff at christianity, and to consider it as not worth the trouble of anxious thought. The influence of the court extended over the nation. It soon infected the schools

and professions: and perhaps there has not been a time in British history, when infidelity had become so general, and had assumed a form so malignant. It had attached itself to dissoluteness, deep, dreadful, and universal. It was going hand in hand with all the pleasures of a profligate court, it was identified with all that actuated the souls of Charles and his ministers; it was the kind of infidelity which fitted an unthinking age—scorning alike reason, philosophy, patient thought, and purity of morals. So that in the language of Butler, “it had come to be taken for granted by many persons, that christianity is not so much as a subject of investigation, but that it is now at length, discovered to be fictitious, and accordingly they treat it, as if in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.” In times of such universal profligacy and infidelity arose in succession, Locke, Newton, and Butler, the two former of whom we need not say have been unsurpassed in great powers of thought, and in the influence which they exerted on the sentiments of mankind. It needed such men to bring back a volatile generation to habits of profound thought in the sciences. It needed such a man as Butler, in our view not inferior in profound thought to either, and whose works will have a more permanent effect on the destinies of men, than both—to arrest the giddy steps of a nation, to bring religion from the palace of a scoffing prince and court to the bar of sober thought, and to shew that christianity was not undeserving of sober inquiry. This was the design of the Analogy. It was not so much to furnish a complete demonstration of the *truth* of religion, as to show that it could not be proved to be false. It was to show that it accorded with a great, every where seen, system of things actually going on in the world; and that attacks made on christianity were to the same extent assaults on the course of nature, and of nature’s God. Butler pointed the unbeliever to a grand system of things in actual existence, a *world* with every variety of character, feeling, conduct and results—a system of things deeply mysterious, yet developing great principles, and bearing *proof* that it was under the government of God. He traced certain indubitable acts of the Almighty in a course of nature, whose existence could not be denied. Now if it could be shown that christianity contained like results, acts, and principles; if it was a scheme involving no greater mystery, and demanding a correspondent conduct on the part of man, it would be seen that it had proceeded from the same author. In other words the objections alleged against christianity, being equally applicable against the course of nature, could not be valid. To shew this, was the design of Butler. In doing this he carried the war into

the camp of the enemy. He silenced the objector's arguments ; or if he still continued to urge them, showed him that with equal propriety they could be urged against the acknowledged course of things, against his own principles of conduct on other subjects, against what indubitably affected his condition here, and what *might* therefore affect his doom hereafter.

We are fond of thus looking at the bible as *part* of one vast plan of communicating truth to created intelligences. We know it is the fullest, and most grand, of all God's ways of teaching men, standing amidst the sources of information, as the sun does amidst the stars of heaven, quenching their feeble glimmerings in the fulness of its meridian splendor. But to carry forward the illustration, the sun does, indeed, cause the stars of night to "hide their diminished heads," but we see in both but one system of laws ; and whether in the trembling of the minutest orb that emits its faint rays to us from the farthest bounds of space, or the full light of the sun at noon-day, we trace the hand of the same God, and feel that "all are but parts of one stupendous whole." Thus it is with revelation. We know that its truths comprise all that the world elsewhere contains, that its authority is supreme over all the other sources of knowledge, and all the other *facts* of the moral system. But there *are* other sources of information—a vast multitude of facts that we expect to find in accordance with this brighter effulgence from heaven, and it is these *facts* which the Analogy brings to the aid of revelation. The bible is in religion, what the telescope is in astronomy. It does not contradict any thing before known ; it does not annihilate any thing before seen ; it carries the eye forward into new worlds, opens it upon more splendid fields of vision, and displays grander systems, where we thought there was but the emptiness of space, or the darkness of illimitable and profound night ; and divides the milky way into vast clusters of suns and stars, of worlds and systems. In all the boundlessness of these fields of vision, however, does the telescope point us to any new laws of acting, any new principle by which the universe is governed ? The astronomer tells us not. It is the hand of the same God which he sees, impelling the new worlds that burst on the view in the immensity of space, with the same irresistible and inconceivable energy, and encompassing them with the same clear fields of light. So we expect to find it in revelation. We expect to see plans, laws, purposes, actions and results, uniform with the facts in actual existence before our eyes. Whether in the smiles of an infant, or the rapt feelings of a seraph ; in the strength of manhood, or the power of Gabriel ; in the rewards of virtue here, or the crown of glory hereafter, we expect to find the Creator acting on one grand principle of moral government, applicable to *all* these facts, and to be vindicated by the same considerations.

When we approach the bible, we are at once struck with a most striking correspondence of plan to that which obtains in the natural world. When we teach theology in our schools we do it by system, by form, by technicalities. We frame what we call a "body of divinity," expecting all its parts to cohere and agree. We shape and clip the angles and points of our theology, till they shall fit like the polished stones of the temple of Solomon, into their place. So when we teach astronomy, botany, or geography, it is by a regular system before us, having the last discoveries of the science located in their proper place. But how different is the plan, which, in each of these departments, is pursued by infinite wisdom. The truths which God designs to teach us, lie spread over a vast compass. They are placed without much apparent order. Those of revelation lie before us, just as the various *facts* do, which go to make up a system of botany or astronomy. The great author of nature has not placed all flowers in a single situation, nor given them a scientific arrangement. They are scattered over the wide world. Part bloom on the mountain, part in the valley, part shed their fragrance near the running stream; part pour their sweetness in the desert air, "in the solitary waste where no man is;" part climb in vines to giddy heights, and part are found in the bosom of the mighty waters. He that forms a theory of botany must do it, therefore, with hardy toil. He will find the *materials*, not the *system*, made ready to his hands. He will exhaust his life perhaps in his labor, before the system stands complete. Why should we not expect to find the counterpart of all this in religion? When we look at the bible, we find the same state of things. At first but a ray of light beamed upon the dark path of our apostate parents, wandering from paradise. The sun that had stood over their heads in the garden of pleasure, at their fall sunk to the west and left them in the horrors of a moral midnight. A single ray, in the promise of a Savior, shot along their path, and directed to the source of day. But did God reveal a whole system? Did he tell them all the truth that he knew? Did he tell all that we know? He did just as we have supposed in regard to the first botanist. The eye was fixed on one truth distinctly. Subsequent revelations shed new light; advancing facts confirmed preceding doctrines and promises; rising prophets gave confirmation to the hopes of men; precepts, laws, and direct revelations rose upon the world, until the system of revealed truth is now complete. Man has all he can have, except the facts which the progress of things is yet to develop in *confirmation* of the system; just as each new budding flower goes to confirm the just principles of the naturalist, and to show what the system is. Yet how do we possess the system? As arranged, digested, and reduced to order? Far from it. We have the book of revelation just as we have the book of nature. In the beginning of the bible, for exam-

ple, we have a truth abstractly *taught*, in another part *illustrated* in the life of a prophet, as we advance it is *confirmed* by the fuller revelation of the Savior or the apostles, and we find its *full development* only when the whole book is complete. Here stands a law; there a promise; there a profound mystery, unarranged, undigested, yet strikingly accordant with a multitude of correspondent views in the bible, and with as many in the moral world. Now here is a mode of communication, which imposture would have carefully avoided, because detection, it would foresee, must on such a plan, be unavoidable. It seems to us that if men had intended to *impose* a system on the world, it would have been somewhat in the shape of our bodies of divinity, and therefore very greatly unlike the plan which we actually find in the bible. At any rate, we approach the scriptures with this strong presumption in favor of its truth, that it accords precisely with what we see in astronomy, chemistry, botany, and geography, and that the mode of constructing systems in all these sciences, is exactly the same as in dogmatical theology.

We have another remark to make on this subject. The botanist does not shape his facts. He is the collector, the arranger, not the originator. So the framer of systems in religion *should* be—and it is matter of deep regret that *such* he has *not* been. He should be merely the collector, the arranger, not the originator of the doctrines of the gospel. Though then we think him of some importance, yet we do not set a high value on his labors. We honor the toils of a man who tells of the uses, beauties and medicinal properties of the plant, far more than of him who merely declares its rank, its order, its class in the Linnean system. So in theology, we admire the greatness of mind which can bring out an original truth, illustrate it, and show its proper bearing on the spiritual interests of our race, far more than we do the plodding chiseler who shapes it to its place in his system. It makes no small demand on our patience, when we see the system-maker remove angle after angle, and apply stroke after stroke, to some great mass of truth which a mighty genius has struck out, but which keen-eyed and jealous orthodoxy, will not admit to its proper bearing on the souls of men, until it is located in a creed, and cramped into some framework of faith, that has been reared around the bible. Our sympathy with such men as Butler, and Chalmers, and Foster, and Hall, is far greater than with Turretine or Ridgely. With still less patience do we listen to those whose only business it is to shape and reduce to prescribed form; who never look at a passage in the bible or a fact in nature, without first robbing it of its freshness, by an attempt to give it a sectarian location:—who never stumble on an original and unclassified idea, without asking whether the system maker had left any niche for the late-born intruder; and who applies to it all tests, as to a non-descript substance in chemistry, in

order to fasten on it the charge of an affinity with some rejected confession, or some creed of a suspected name. This is to abuse reason and revelation, for the sake of putting honor on creeds. It is to suppose that the older creed makers had before them all shades of thought, all material and mental facts, all knowledge of what mind *has been and can be*, and all other knowledge of the adaptedness of the bible, to every enlarged and fluctuating process of thought. It is to doom the theologian to an eternal dwelling in Greenland frost and snows, instead of sending him forth to breathe the mild air of freedom, and to make him a large minded and fearless interpreter of the oracles of God.

It is not our intention to follow the profound author of the Analogy through his labored demonstrations, or to attempt to offer an abridged statement of his reasoning. Butler, as we have already remarked, is incapable of abridgment. His thoughts are already condensed into as narrow a compass, as the nature of language will admit. All that we purpose to do, is to give a *specimen* of the argument from analogy in support of the christian religion, without very closely following the book before us.

The main points at issue between christianity and its opposers are, whether there is a future state ; whether our conduct here will affect our condition there ; whether God so controls things as to reward and punish ; whether it is reasonable to act with reference to our condition hereafter ; whether the favor of God is to be obtained with, or without the mediation of another ; whether crime and suffering are indissolubly united in the moral government of God ; and whether christianity is a scheme in accordance with the acknowledged laws of the universe, and is supported by evidence so clear as to make it proper to act on the belief of its truth.

Infidelity, in its proper form, approaches man with the declaration that there cannot be a future state. It affirms, often with much apparent concern, that there can be no satisfactory evidence of what pertains to a dark, invisible, and distant world ; that the mind is incompetent to set up landmarks along its future course, and that we can have no certain proof that *in* that dark abyss, we shall live, act, or think at all. It affirms that the whole analogy of things is against such a supposition. We have no evidence, it declares, that one of all the millions who have died, has lived beyond the grave. In sickness, and old age, it is said the body and soul seem alike to grow feeble and decay, and both seem to expire together. That they ever exist separate, it is said, has not been proved. That such a dissolution and separate existence should take place, is affirmed to be contrary to the analogy of all other things. That the soul and body should be united again, and constitute a *single* being, is said to be without a parallel fact in other things, to divest it of its inherent improbability.

Now let us suppose for a moment, that endued with our present powers of thought, we had been united to bodies of far feebler frame and much more slender dimensions, than we now inhabit. Suppose that our spirits had been doomed to inhabit the body of a crawling reptile, scarce an inch in length, prone on the earth, and doomed to draw out our little length to obtain locomotion from day to day, and scarce noticeable by the mighty beings above us. Suppose in that lowly condition, as we contemplated the certainty of our speedy dissolution, we should look upon our kindred reptiles, the partners of our cares, and should see their strength gradually waste, their faculties grow dim, their bodies become chill in death. Suppose now it should be revealed to us, that those bodies should undergo a transformation ; that at no great distance of time they should start up into new being ; that in their narrow graves there should be seen the evidence of returning life ; and that these same deformed, prone, and decaying frames, should be clothed with the beauty of gaudy colors, be instinct with life, leave the earth, soar at pleasure in a new element, take their rank in a new order of beings, be divested of all that was offensive and loathsome in their old abode in the eyes of other beings ; and be completely dissociated from all the plans, habits, relations and feelings of their former lowly condition. We ask whether against this supposition there would not lie all the objections, which have ever been alleged against the doctrine of a resurrection, and a future state ? Yet the world has long been familiar with changes of this character. The changes which animal nature undergoes to produce the gay colors of the butterfly, have as much antecedent improbability as those pertaining to the predicted resurrection, and for aught that we can see, are improbabilities of precisely the same nature. So in a case still more in point. No two states which revelation has presented, as actually contemplated in the condition of man, are more unlike than those of an unborn infant, and of a hoary man ripe with wisdom and honors. To us it appears that the state of the embryo, and that of Newton, Locke, and Bacon, have at least, as much dissimilarity, as those between man here, and man in a future state. Grant that a revelation could be made to such an embryo, and it would be attended with all the difficulties that are supposed to attend the doctrine of revelation. That this unformed being should leave the element in which it commences its existence ; that it should be ushered into another element with powers precisely adjusted to its new state, and useless in its first abode—like the eye, the ear, the hand, the foot ; that it should assume relations to hundreds, and thousands of other beings at first unknown, and these too, living in what to the embryo must be esteemed a different world ; that it should be capable of traversing seas, of measuring the distances of stars, of gauging

the dimensions of suns; that it could calculate with unerring certainty the conjunctions and oppositions, the transits and altitudes of the vast wheeling orbs of immensity, is as improbable as any change, which man, under the guidance of revelation, has yet expected in his most sanguine moments. Yet nothing is more familiar to us. So the analogy might be run through all the changes which animals and vegetables exhibit. Nor has the infidel a right to reject the revelations of christianity respecting a future state, until he has disposed of facts of precisely the same nature with which our world abounds.

But are we under a moral government? Admitting the probability of a future state, is the plan on which the world is actually administered, one which will be likely to affect our condition there? Is there any reason to believe, from the analogy of things, that the affairs of the universe will ever in some future condition, settle down into permanency and order? That this is the doctrine of christianity, none can deny. It is a matter of clear revelation—indeed it is the entire basis and structure of the scheme, that the affairs of justice and of law, are under suspense; that “judgment now lingereth and damnation slumbereth;” that, crime is for the present dissociated from woe, for a specific purpose, viz. that mortals may repent, and be forgiven; and that there will come a day when the native indissoluble connection between sin and suffering shall be restored, and that they shall then travel on hand in hand forever. This is the essence of christianity. And it is a most interesting inquiry, whether any thing like this can be found in the actual government of the world.

Now it cannot be denied, that on this subject, men are thrown into a most remarkable—a chaotic mass of facts. The world is so full of irregularity—the lives of wicked men are apparently so often peaceful and triumphant—virtue so often pines neglected in the vale of obscurity, or weeps and groans under the iron hand of the oppressor, that it appals men in all their attempts to reduce the system to order. Rewards and punishments, are so often apparently capricious, that there is presumptive proof, in the mind of the infidel, that it will always continue so to be. And yet what if, amidst all this apparent disorder, there should be found the elements of a grand and glorious system, soon to rise on its ruins? What if, amidst all the triumphs of vice, there should still be found evidence to prove that God works by an unseen power, but most effectually, in sending judicial inflictions on men even now? And what if, amidst these ruins, there is still to be found evidence, that God regards virtue even here, and is preparing for it appropriate rewards hereafter; like the parts of a beautiful temple strewed and scattered in the ruins of some ancient city, but still if again placed together, symmetrical, harmonious, and grand?

Christianity proceeds on the supposition that such is the fact; and amidst all the wreck of human things, we can still discover certain fixed results of human conduct. The consequences of an action do not terminate with the commission of the act itself, nor with the immediate effect of that act on the body. They travel over into future results, and strike on some other, often some distant part of our earthly existence. Frequently the true effect of the act is not seen except *beyond* some result that may be considered as the accidental one; though for the *sake* of that *immediate* effect the act may have been performed. This is strikingly the case in the worst forms of vice. The immediate effect, for example, of intemperance, is a certain pleasurable sensation for the *sake* of which the man became intoxicated. The true effect, or the effect as, *part of moral government*, travels *beyond* that temporary delirium, and is seen in the loss of health, character, and peace,—perhaps not terminating in its consequences during the whole future progress of the victim. So the direct result of profligacy may be the gratification of passion;—of avarice, the pleasurable indulgence of a groveling propensity;—of ambition, the glow of feeling in splendid achievements, or the grandeur and pomp of the monarch, or the warrior;—of dueling, a pleasurable sensation that revenge has been taken for insult. But do the consequences of these deeds terminate here? If they did, we should doubt the moral government of God. But in regard to their ultimate effects, the universe furnishes but one lesson. The consequences of these deeds travel over in advance of this pleasure, and fix themselves deep beyond human power to eradicate them, in the property, health, reputation or peace of the man of guilt;—nay perhaps the consequences thicken until we take our *last* view of him, as he gasps in death, and all that we know of him, as he goes from our observation, is that heavier thunderbolts are seen trembling in the hand of God, and pointing their vengeance at the head of the dying man. What infidel can prove that some of the results, at least, of that crime, may not travel on to meet him in his future being, and beset his goings there?

Further, as a *general* law the virtuous are prospered, and the wicked punished. Society is organized for this. Laws are made for this. The entire community throws its arms around the man of virtue; and in like manner the entire community, by its laws, gather around the transgressor. Let a man attempt to commit a crime, and before the act is committed, he may meet with fifty evidences, that he is doing that which will involve him in ruin. He must struggle with his conscience. He must contend with what he knows to have been the uniform judgment of men. He must keep himself from the eye of justice, and that very attempt is proof to him that there is a moral government. He must over-

come all the proofs which have been set up, that men approve of virtue. He must shun the presence of every man, for from that moment, every member of the community, becomes of course his enemy. He must assume disguises to secure him from the eye of justice. He must work his way through the community during the rest of his life, with the continued consciousness of crime ; eluding by arts the officers of the law, fearful of detection at every step, and never certain that at some unexpected moment, his crime may not be revealed, and the heavy arm of justice fall on his guilty head. Now all this proves that in *his* view he is under a moral government. How knows he, that the same system of things may not meet him hereafter ; and that in some future world the hand of justice may not reach him ? The fact is sufficiently universal to be a proper ground of action, that virtue meets with its appropriate reward, and vice is appropriately punished. So universal is this fact, that more than nine tenths of all the world, have confidently acted on its belief. The young man expects that industry and sobriety will be recompensed in the healthfulness, peace, and honor of a venerable old age. The votary of ambition, expects to climb the steep, "where fame's proud temple shines afar," and to enjoy the rewards of office or fame. And so uniform is the administration of the world in this respect, that the success of one generation, lays the ground for the confident anticipations of another. So it has been from the beginning of time, and so it will be to the end of the world. We ask why should not man with equal reason, suppose his conduct now may affect his destiny, at the next moment or the next year beyond his death ? Is there any violation of reason in supposing that the soul may be active there, and meet there the results of conduct here ? Can it be proved, that death suspends, or annihilates existence ? Unless it can, the man who acts in his youth with reference to his happiness at eighty years of age, is acting most unwisely if he does not extend his thoughts to the hundredth, or the thousandth year of his being.

What if it should be found, as the infidel cannot deny it *may be*, that death suspends not existence, so much as one night's sleep ? At the close of each day, we see the powers of man prostrate. Weakness and lassitude come over all the frame. A torpor elsewhere unknown in the history of animal nature, spreads through all the faculties. The eyes close, the ears become deaf to hearing, the palate to taste, the skin to touch, the nostrils to smell, all the faculties are locked in entire insensibility, alike strangers to the charms of music, the tones of friendship, the beauties of creation, the luxury of the banquet, and the voice of revelry. The last indication of *mind* to appearance is gone, or the indications of its existence are far feebler than when we see man *die* in the full exertion of his mental powers, sympathizing in feelings of friendship, and

cheered by the hopes of religion. Yet God passes his hand over the frame when we sleep, and instinct with life, again we rise to business, to pleasure, or to ambition. But what are the facts which meet us, as the result of the doings of yesterday? Have we lost our hold on those actions? The man of industry yesterday, sees to-day, his fields waving in the sun, rich with a luxuriant harvest. The professional man of business finds his doors crowded, his ways thronged, and multitudes awaiting his aid in law, in medicine, or in the arts. The man of virtue yesterday, reaps the rewards of it to-day, in the respect and confidence of mankind; and in the peace of an approving conscience, and the smiles of God. The man of intemperate living rises to nausea, retching, pain, and woe. Poverty, this morning, clothes in rags the body of him who was idle yesterday; and disease clings to the goings, and fixes itself in the blood of him, who was dissipated. Who can tell but death shall be *less* a suspension of existence than this night's sleep? Who can tell but that the consequences of our doings here, shall travel over our sleep in the tomb, and greet us in our awaking in some new abode? Why should they not? Why should God appoint a law so wise, and so universal here, that is to fail the moment we pass to some other part of our being?

Nor are the results of crime confined to the *place* where the act was committed. Sin, in youth, may lay the foundation of a disease, that shall complete its work on the other side of the globe. An early career of dissipation in America, may fix in the frame the elements of a disorder, that shall complete its work in the splendid capital of the French, or it may be in the sands of the Equator, or the snows of Siberia. If crime may thus travel in its results around the globe, if it may reach out its withering hand over seas, and mountains, and continents, and seek out its fleeing victim in the solitary waste, or in the dark night, we see not why it may not be stretched across the grave, and meet the victim there—at least we think the analogy should make the transgressor tremble, and turn pale as he flies to eternity.

But it is still objected that the rewards given to virtue, and the pain inflicted on vice, are not universal, and that there is not, therefore, the proof that was to have been expected, that they will be hereafter. Here we remark that it is evidently not the design of religion to affirm that the *entire* system can be seen in our world. We say that the system is not fully developed, and that there is, therefore, presumptive proof that there *is* another state of things. Every one must have been struck with the fact, that human affairs are cut off in the midst of their way, and their completion removed to some other world. No earthly system or plan has been carried out to its full extent. There is no proof that we have *ever* seen the full result of any given system of conduct. We see the effect of vice

as far as the structure of the *body* will allow. We see it prostrate the frame, produce disease, and terminate in death. We see the effect on body and mind alike, until we lose our sight of the man in the grave. There our observation stops. But who can tell what the effect of intemperance, for example, would be in this world, if the body were adjusted to bear its results a little longer? Who can calculate with what accelerated progress the consequences would thicken beyond the time, when we now cease to observe them? And who can affirm that the same results may not await the mind hereafter? Again we ask the infidel why they should not? *He* is bound to tell us. The presumption is against him.

Besides, the effect of vice is often arrested in its first stage. A young man suddenly dies. For some purpose, unseen to human eyes, the individual is arrested, and the *effect* of his crimes is removed into eternity. Why is this more improbable than that the irregularities of youth should run on, and find their earthly completion in the wretchedness and poverty of a dishonored old age. So virtue is often arrested. The young man of promise, of talent, and of piety, dies. The completion of the scheme is arrested. The rewards are dispensed in another world. So says religion. And can the infidel tell us why they should *not* be dispensed there, as well as in the ripe honors of virtuous manhood? This is a question which infidelity *must* answer.

The same remarks are as applicable to communities as to individuals. It is to be remembered here, that virtue has never had a full, and impartial trial. The *proper* effect of virtue here, would be seen in a perfectly pure community. Let us suppose such an organization of society. Imagine a community of virtuous men where the most worthy citizens should always be elected to office, where affairs should be suffered to flow on far enough to give the system a complete trial; where vice, corruption, flattery, bribes, and the arts of office-seeking, should be unknown; where intemperance, gluttony, lust, and dishonest gains, should be shut out by the laws, and by the moral sense of the commonwealth; where industry, and sobriety should universally prevail, and be honored. Is there any difficulty in seeing that if this system were to prevail for many ages, the nation would be signally prosperous, and gain a wide dominion? And suppose, on the other hand, a community made up on the model of the New-Harmony plan, the asylum of the idle, of the unprincipled, and the profligate. Suppose that the men of the greatest physical power, and most vice, should rule, as they infallibly would do. Suppose there was no law, but the single precept enjoining universal indulgence; and suppose that under some miraculous and terrible binding together by divine pressure, this community should be kept from falling to pieces, or destroying itself, for a few ages, is there any difficulty in seeing what would be the

proper effect of crime? Indeed, we deem it happy for the world that *one* Robert Owen has been permitted to live to make the experiment on a small scale, and but *one*, lest the record of total profligacy and corruption should not be confined to the singularly named *New-Harmony*. All this proves there is something either in the frame-work of society itself, or in the agency of some Great Being presiding over human things, that smiles on virtue, and frowns on vice. In other words there is a moral government.

It is further to be remarked, that as far as the experiment has been suffered to go on in the world, it has been attended with a uniform result. Nations are suffered to advance in wickedness, until they reach the point in the universal constitution of things, that is attended with self-destruction. So fell Gomorrah, Babylon, Athens, Rome, expiring just as the drunkard does—by excess of crime, or by enervating their strength in luxury and vice. The body politic, enfeebled by corruption, is not able to sustain the incumbent load, and sinks, like the human frame, in ruin. So has perished every nation from the vast dominions of Alexander the Macedonian, to the mighty empire of Napoleon, that has been reared in lands wet with the blood of the slain, and incumbent on the pressed and manacled liberties of man. In national, as well as in private affairs, the powers of doing evil soon exhaust themselves. The frame in which they act, is not equal to the mighty pressure, and the nation or the individual sinks to ruin. Like some tremendous engine of many wheels, and complicated machinery, when the balance is removed, and it is suffered to waste its powers in self-propulsion, without checks or guides, the tremendous energy works its own ruin, rends the machine in pieces, and scatters its rolling and flying wheels in a thousand directions. Such is the frame of society, and such the frame of an individual. So we expect, if God gave up the world to unrestrained evil, it would accomplish its own perdition. We think we see in every human frame, and in the mingled and clashing powers of every society, the elements of ruin, and all that is necessary to secure that ruin is to remove the pressure of the hand that now restrains the wild and terrific powers, and saves the world from self-destruction. So if virtue had a fair trial, we apprehend it would be as complete in its results. We expect, in heaven, it will secure its own rewards—like the machine which we have supposed—*always* harmonious in its movements. So in hell, we expect there will be the elements of universal misrule—and that all the foreign force that will be necessary to secure eternal misery, will be Almighty power to preserve the terrible powers in unrestrained being, and to press them into the same mighty prison-house—just like some adamantine enclosure that should keep the engine together and fix the locality of its tremendous operations.

Long ago it had passed into a proverb, that "murder will out." This is just an illustration of what we are supposing. Let a murderer live long enough, and such is the organization of society, that vengeance will find him out. Such, we suppose, would be the case in regard to *all* crime, if sufficient permanency were given to the affairs of men, and if things were not arrested in the midst of their way. Results *in eternity*, we suppose, are but the *transfer to another state* of results which would take place here, if the guilty were not removed. We ask the infidel, we ask the universalist,—why this state of things should be arrested by so unimportant a circumstance as death? Here is a uniform system of things—uniform as far as the eye can run it backward into past generations,—uniform, so as to become the foundation of laws and of the entire conduct of the world,—and uniform, so far as the eye can trace the results of conduct *forward* in all the landmarks set up along our future course. Unless God change, and the affairs of other worlds are administered on principles different from *ours*, it must be, that this system will receive its appropriate termination *there*. It belongs to the infidel and the universalist to prove, that the affairs of the universe come to a solemn pause at death; that we are ushered into a world of different laws, and different principles of government,—that we pass under a new sceptre, a sceptre too, not of *justice*, but of disorder, misrule, and the arrest of all that God has begun in his administration;—that the *results* of conduct, manifestly but just commenced here, are finally arrested by some strange and unknown principle at our death;—and that we are to pass to a world of which we know nothing, and, in which, we have no means of conjecturing what will be the treatment which crime and virtue will receive. We ask them, can they *demonstrate* this strange theory? Are men willing to risk their eternal welfare on the presumption, that *God will be a different being there from what he is here, and that the conduct which meets with woe here, will there meet with bliss?* Why not rather suppose,—as Christianity does—according to all the analogy of things, that the same almighty hand shall be stretched across all worlds alike, and that the bolts which vibrate in his hand now, and point their thunders at the head of the guilty, shall fall with tremendous weight there, and close in eternal life and death, the scenes begun on earth? We know of no men who are acting under so fearful probabilities against their views, as those who deny the doctrine of future punishment. Here is a long array of uniform facts, all, as we understand them, founded on the presumption that the scheme of the infidel cannot be true. The system is continued through all the revolutions to which men are subject. Conduct, in its results, travels over all the interruptions of sleep, sickness, absence, delirium, that man meets with, and passes on from age to age.

The conduct of yesterday terminates in results to-day ; that of youth extends into old age ; that of health, reaches even *beyond* a season of sickness ; that of sanity, *beyond* a state of delirium. Crime here meets its punishment, it may be after we have crossed oceans, and snows, and sands, in some other part of the globe. Far from country and home, in lands of strangers where no eye may recognize or pity us, but that of the unseen witness of our actions, it follows us in remorse of conscience, or in the judgments of the storm, the siroc, or the ocean. We are amazed that it should be thought that death will arrest this course of things, and that crossing that narrow vale, will do for us what the passage from yesterday to to-day, from youth to age, from the land of our birth to the land of strangers and of solitudes, can never do. Guilty man carries the elements of his own perdition within him, and it matters little whether he be in society or in solitude, in this world or the next—the inward fires will burn, and the sea and the dry land, and the burning climes of hell, will send forth their curses to greet the wretched being, who has dared to violate the laws of the unseen God, and to “hail” him as the “new possessor” of the “profoundest hell.”

But the infidel still objects that all this is mere probability, and that in concerns so vast, it is unreasonable to act without demonstration. We reply, that in few of the concerns of life, do men act from demonstration. The farmer sows with the *probability* only, that he will reap. The scholar toils with the probability, often a slender one, that his life will be prolonged, and success crown his labors in subsequent life. The merchant commits his treasures to the ocean, embarks perhaps all he has on the bosom of the deep, under the probability that propitious gales will waft the riches of the Indies into port. Under this probability, and this *only*, the ambitious man pants for honor, the votary of pleasure, presses to the scene of dissipation, the youth, the virgin, the man of middle life, and he of hoary hairs, alike crowd round the scenes of honor, of vanity, and of gain. Nay, more, some of the noblest qualities of the soul, are brought forth only on the strength of probabilities that appear slight to less daring spirits. In the eye of his countrymen, few things were more improbable than that Columbus would survive the dangers of the deep, and land on the shores of a new hemisphere. Nothing appeared more absurd than his reasonings—nothing more chimerical than his plans. Yet under the pressure of proof that satisfied his own mind, he braved the dangers of an untraversed ocean, and bent his course to regions whose existence was as far from the belief of the old world, as that of heaven is from the faith of the infidel. Nor could the unbelieving Spaniard

deny, that under the pressure of the *probability* of the existence of a western continent, some of the highest qualities of mind that the earth has seen, were exhibited by the Genoese navigator—just as the infidel must admit, that some of the most firm and noble expressions of soul have come from the enterprise of gaining a heaven and a home, beyond the stormy and untraveled ocean, on which the christian launches his bark in discovery of a new world. We might add also here, the names of Bruce, of Wallace, of Tell, of Washington. We might remark how they commenced the great enterprises whose triumphant completion has given immortality to their names, under the power of a probability that their efforts would be successful. We might remark how many *more* clouds of doubt and obscurity clustered around their enterprises, than have ever darkened the christian's path to heaven, and how the grandest displays of patriotism and prowess, that the world has known, have grown out of the hazardous design of rescuing Scotland, Switzerland and America from slavery. But we shall only observe that there was just enough probability of success in these cases to try these men's souls—just as there is probability enough of heaven and hell, to try the souls of infidels and of christians, to bring out their true character, and answer the great ends of moral government.

But here the infidel acts on the very principle which he condemns. He has not *demonstrated* that his system is true. From the nature of the system he cannot do it. He acts then, on a *probability* that his system *may* prove to be true. And were the subject one *less serious* than eternity, it might be amusing to look at the nature of these probabilities. His system assumes it as probable that men will not be rewarded according to their deeds; that christianity will turn out to be false; that it will appear that no such being as Jesus lived, or that it will yet be proved that he was an impostor; that twelve men were deceived in so plain a case as that which related to the death and resurrection of an intimate friend; that they conspired to impose on men without reward, contrary to all the acknowledged principles of human action, and when they could reap nothing for their imposture but stripes, contempt, and death; that religion did not early spread over the Roman empire; that the facts of the New Testament are falsehood, and of course that all the cotemporaneous confirmations of these facts collected by the indefatigable Lardner, were false also: that the Jews occupy their place in the nations by chance, and exist in a manner contrary to that of all other people, without reason; that all the predictions of their dispersion, of the coming of the Messiah, of the overthrow of Babylon and Jerusalem and Tyre are conjectures, in which men, very barbarous men, conjectured exactly right, while thousands of the predictions of heathen oracles and

statesmen have failed; that this singular fact should have happened, that the most barbarous people should give to mankind the only intelligible notices of God, and that a dozen Galilean peasants should have devised a scheme of imposture to overthrow all the true, and all the false systems of religion in the world. The infidel moreover deems it probable that there is no God; or that death is an eternal sleep; or that we have no souls; or that man is but an improved and educated ape, or that all virtue is vain, that all vice stands on the same level, and may be committed at any man's pleasure; or that man's wisdom is to disregard the future, and live to eat and drink and die; and all this too, when his conscience tells him there is a God, when he *does* act for the future, and expects happiness or woe as the reward of virtue or vice; when he is palsied, as he looks at the grave, with fears of what is beyond, and turns pale in solitude as he looks onward to the bar of God. Now we hazard nothing in saying, that the man who is compelled to act as the infidel is, who has all these probabilities to cheer him with the belief that infidelity is true, and this when it has no system to recommend as truth, and when it stands opposed to all the analogy of things, is engaged in a most singular employment, when he denounces men for acting on the probability that there is a heaven, a God, a Savior, and a hell. It seems to us that there is nothing more at war with all the noble and pure feelings of the soul, than this attempt to "swing man from his moorings," and send him on wild and tumultuous seas, with only the *infidel's* probability that he will ever reach a haven of rest. It is launching into an ocean—without a belief that there *is* an ocean; and weathering storms, without professing to believe that there *may be* storms; and seeking a port of peace, without believing that there *is* such a port, and acting daily with reference to the future, at the same time that all is pronounced an absurdity. And when we see all this, we ask instinctively, can this be man? Or is this being right after all, in the belief that he is only a semi-barbarous ape, or a half-reclaimed man of the woods?

But we are gravely told, and with an air of great seeming 'wisdom, that all presumption and experience are against the miraculous facts in the New Testament. And it was, for some time, deemed proof of singular philosophical sagacity in Hume, that he made the discovery, and put it on record to enlighten mankind. For our part, we think far more attention was bestowed on this sophistry than was required; and but for the show of confident wisdom with which it was put forth, we think the argument of Campbell might have been spared. It might safely be admitted, we suppose, that all presumption and experience, *were* against miracles before they were wrought,—and this is no more than saying that they were not wrought before they were. The plain matter of

fact, apart from all labored metaphysics, is, that there is a *presumption* against *most* facts until they actually take place, because till that time all experience was against them. Thus there were many presumptions against the existence of such a man as Julius Cæsar. No man would have ventured to predict that there *would* be such a man. There were a thousand probabilities that a man of that *name* would not live—as many that he would not cross the Rubicon—as many that he would not enslave his country—and as many that he would not be slain by the hand of such a man as Brutus,—and all this was contrary to experience. So there were innumerable improbabilities, in regard to the late Emperor of France. It was once contemplated, we are told, by a living poet who afterwards wrote his life in a different place, to produce a biography grounded on the *improbabilities* of his conduct, and showing how, in fact, all those improbabilities disappeared in the actual result. The world stood in amazement indeed for a few years at the singular grandeur of his movements. Men saw him ride, as the spirit of the storm, on the whirlwind of the revolution; and like the spirit of the tempest, amazed and trembling nations, knew not where his power would strike, or what city or state it would next sweep into ruin. But the world has since become familiar with the spectacle,—men have seen that he was naturally engendered by the turbid elements—that he was the proper *creation* of the revolution—and that if *he* had not lived, some other master spirit like him would have seized the direction of the tempest, and poured its desolations on bleeding and trembling Europe. So any great discovery in science or art, is previously improbable and contrary to experience. We have often amused ourselves with contemplating what would have been the effect on the mind of Archimedes, had he been told of the power of one of the most common elements,—an element which men who see boiling water must always see—its mighty energy in draining deep pits in the earth, in raising vast rocks of granite, in propelling vessels with a rapidity and beauty of which the ancients knew nothing, and in driving a thousand wheels in the minutest and most delicate works of art. To the ancient world all this was contrary to experience, and all presumption was against it,—as improbable certainly as that God should have power to raise the dead; and we doubt whether any evidence of divine revelation would have convinced mankind three thousand years ago, without the actual experiment, of what the school-boy may now know as a matter of sober and daily occurrence, in the affairs of the world. So not long since, the Copernican system of astronomy was so improbable, that for maintaining it, Galileo endured the pains of the dungeon. All presumption and all experience it was thought were against it. Yet by the discoveries of Newton, it has been made, to the great mass of man-

kind, devoid of all its improbabilities, and children acquiesce in its reasonableness. So the oriental king could not be persuaded that water could ever become hard. It was full of improbabilities, and contrary to all experience. The plain matter of fact, is, that in regard to all events in history, and all discoveries in science, and inventions in the mechanic arts, there may be said to be a presumption against their existence, just as there was in regard to miracles; and they are contrary to all experience, until discovered, just as miracles are, until performed. And if this be all that infidelity has to affirm in the boasted argument of Hume, it seems to be ushering into the world, with very unnecessary pomp, a very plain truism,—that a new fact in the world is contrary to all experience, and this is the same as saying that a thing is contrary to experience until it actually *is experienced*.

We have another remark to make on this subject. It relates to the *ease* with which the improbabilities of a case may be overcome by testimony. We doubt not that the wonders of the steam power may be now credited by all mankind, and we who have seen its application in so many forms, easily believe that it may accomplish similar wonders in combinations which the world has not yet witnessed. The incredulity of the age of Galileo on the subject of astronomy, has been overcome among millions who cannot trace the demonstrations of Newton, and who perhaps have never heard his name. It is by *testimony* only that all this is done; and on the strength of this testimony, man will hazard any worldly interest. He will circumnavigate the globe, not at all deterred by the fear that he may find in distant seas or lands, different laws from those which the Copernican system supposes. We do not see why, in like manner, the improbabilities of religion may not vanish before testimony; and its high mysteries in some advanced period of our existence, become as familiar to us, as the common facts which are now the subjects of our daily observation. Nor can we see why the antecedent difficulties of religion may not as easily be removed by competent proof, as those which appalled the minds of men in the grandeur of the astronomical system, or the mighty power of the arts.

We wish here briefly to notice another difficulty of infidelity. It is, that it is altogether *improbable* and against the analogy of things, that the Son of God, the equal of the Father of the universe, should stoop to the humiliating scenes of the mediation,—should consent to be cursed, reviled, buffeted, and put to death. We answer, men are very incompetent judges of what a Divine Being may be willing to endure. Who would suppose, beforehand, that *God* would submit to blasphemy and rebuke? Yet what being has been ever more calumniated? Who has been the object of more scorn? What is the daily offering that goes up from the wide world to the

Maker of all worlds? Not a nation that does not daily send up a dense cloud of obscenity and profaneness as their offering.

"The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
"Shout to each other; and the mountain tops
"From distant mountains catch the flying" curse,
"Till nation after nation taught the strain,
"Earth rolls the" awful malediction "round."

Scarce a corner of a street can be turned, but our ears are saluted with the sound of blasphemy—curses poured on Jehovah, on his Son, on his Spirit, on his creatures, on the material universe, on his law. To our minds, it is no more strange that the Son of God should bear reproach, and pain, with patience for thirty years, than that the God of creation should bear all this from age to age, and as an offering from the wide world. We have only to reflect on what the blasphemer *would* do if God should be embodied, and reveal himself to the eye in a form so that human *hands* might reach him with nails, and spears, and mock diadems, to see an illustration of what they actually *did* do, when his Son put himself in the power of blasphemers, and refused not to die. The history of the blasphemer has shown that if he had the *power*, long ago the last gem in the Creator's crown would have been plucked away; his throne would have crumbled beneath him; his sceptre been wrested from his hand; and the God of creation, like his Son in redemption, would have been suspended on a "great central" cross! When we see the patience of God towards blasphemers, our minds are never staggered by any condescension in the Redeemer. We see something in the analogy, so unlike what we see among men, that we are strongly confirmed in the belief that they are a part of one great system of things.

We have thus presented a *specimen* of the nature of the argument from analogy. Our design has been to excite to inquiry, and to lead our readers to cultivate a practical acquaintance with this great work. We deem it a work of *principles* in theology—a work to be appreciated only by those who think for themselves, and who are willing to be at the trouble of carrying out these *materials* for thought into a daily practical application to the thousand difficulties, which beset the path of christians in their own private reflections, in the facts which they encounter, and in the inuendos, jibes, and blasphemies of infidels. We know, indeed, that the argument is calculated to *silence* rather than to *convince*. In our view this is what, on this subject, is principally needed. The question in our minds is rather, whether we *may* believe there is a future state, than whether we *must* believe it. Sufficient for mortals, we think is it, in their wanderings, their crimes, and their sorrows, if they *may* believe there is a place where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary may be forever at rest; and if the thousand

shades of doubt on that subject which thicken on the path of man, and which assume a deeper hue by infidel arts, *may be removed*. We ask only the *privilege* of believing that there is a world of purity; that the troubled elements of our chaotic abode *may* settle down into rest; and that from the heavings of this moving sea there may arise a fair moral system complete in all its parts, where God shall be all in all, and where all creatures may admire the beauty of his moral character, and the grandeur of his sovereign control. We watch the progress of this system, much as we may suppose a spectator would have watched the process of the first creation. At first this now solid globe was a wild chaotic mass. Darkness and commotion were there. There was a vast heaving deep—a boundless commingling of elements—a dismal terrific wild. Who, in looking on that moving mass, would have found evidence that the beauty of Eden would so soon start up on its surface, and the fair proportions of our hills, and vales, and streams, would rise to give support to millions of animated and happy beings. And with what intensity would the observer behold the light bursting on chaos—the rush of waters to their deep caverns—the uprising of the hills clothed with verdure, inviting to life and felicity. With what beauty would appear the millions sporting with new-created life in their proper elements. Myriads in the heaving ocean and gushing streams—myriads melodious in the groves—myriads joyful on a thousand hills, and in a thousand vales. How grand the completion of the system—man lord of all, clothed with power over the bursting millions, the *priest* of this new creation rendering homage to its Great Sovereign Lord, and “extolling him first, him midst, and him without end.” Like beauty and grandeur, we expect will come out of this deranged moral system. Our eye loves to trace its developement. With tears we look back on “Paradise Lost;” with exultation we trace the unfolding elements of a process that shall soon exhibit the beauty and grandeur of “Paradise Regained.”

Our limits compel us here to close. There is still a most important part of the subject untouched—the analogy of the christian scheme as we understand it, to the course of nature, and the fact that all the objections urged against *Calvinism* lie against the actual order of events. This part of the argument, Butler has not touched. To this, we propose in our next number, to call the attention of our readers—in some respects the most interesting and important part of “the analogy of religion natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature.”

ART. X.—REVIEW OF HIGH CHURCH AND ARMINIAN PRINCIPLES.
*Ed. or Dr. Porter.**An Essay on the invalidity of Presbyterian Ordination; by JOHN ESTIN COOKE, M. D.*

IN examining the history of the church in past ages, we find but two grand divisions, in respect to the momentous subject of man's salvation. Before the reformation, these divisions consisted of those who held to justification through the merits of Christ *alone*, and those who mingled with the doctrines of grace, what they denominated the "freedom of the will," ecclesiastical observances, and personal exertions, as sharing in the work of securing our acceptance with God. The Waldenses and the Lollards once composed the former, and the countless hosts of Papacy, the latter. Since the reformation, when protestantism arose to the partial extinction of the papal order, this same distinction has appeared, more generally, under the denomination of Calvinists and Arminians. Not that all who belong to the former class subscribe to every sentiment of Calvin, or that the great body of the latter class, have confined themselves within the limits prescribed by the cautious policy of Arminius. The fundamental principles of a system are one thing, the mode of defending them is quite another. With the progress of biblical criticism and mental philosophy, the controversy has repeatedly changed its aspect on minor points. Proof passages have been abandoned on both sides, which were once contended for, as "*articuli stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae.*" Numerous philosophical explanations of the two opposing systems, which in the eagerness of debate had been considered as of equal importance with the systems themselves, have gradually sunk into oblivion before the progress of mental and moral science. Since the days of Edwards, particularly, those in this country who maintain the doctrines of grace, have given increased precision and clearness to their statement of these doctrines. Technical terms have been employed with greater accuracy; sweeping declarations of a general nature have been more carefully guarded by the proper qualifications; and some doctrinal positions which were once thought indispensable to the support of the whole system, have been found of no advantage—mere buttresses erected by the hands of men, to sustain the rock of ages. Thus, for example, the doctrine of limited atonement; of our participation in the act or criminality of Adam's sin; of special grace as in any other sense irresistible, than that it is not *actually* resisted; or of any want of freedom or ability in man, except such as consists in his intense aversion to holiness,—although designed by their inventors to support the doctrines of grace,—have, to a great extent, been rejected

by Calvinists in later times. But the great and fundamental difference between the friends and the enemies of the doctrines of grace, remains unchanged. The former believe in the utter alienation of the human heart from God, and its entire destitution of holiness, in a state of nature; the latter reject this doctrine with indignation, and maintain that a portion of divine influence is imparted to each individual of our race to restore his "lapsed powers," which principle of grace, as they term it, will under the cultivation of human effort, ripen into the maturity of holiness, and secure eternal life. The former consider God's choice of men to eternal life, as a choice to make certain individuals holy or believers, and thus to *prepare* them for heaven; the latter contend that this choice or determination results solely from God's *foreseeing* that these individuals *will* be holy or believers, and that his gracious purposes are *dependent* on this contingency. The former hold, that spiritual regeneration is the result of a *special* operation of the Holy Spirit; the latter ascribe this change to the *ordinary* influence of that divine agent, enjoyed in equal degrees by all, and made effectual, whenever it becomes so, by the choice of the individual to yield to that influence—thus securing the favorite point, that it is the man himself, and not God, "who maketh us to differ." The former maintain the unchanging love of God to those whom he has brought to repentance: that carrying them forward in the progress of his merciful moral cultivation here, he will present them in full and final justification at the last day; the latter believe in successive fluctuations, from a state of holiness and acceptance, to a state of sin and condemnation. We will only add, that the former consider man as a complete moral agent in *himself*, aside from all divine influence; as capable, in every respect, of performing his whole duty; and deterred from doing it by no other cause than his intense aversion to holiness. They of course maintain, that those individuals whom God does not choose to eternal life, or renew by his special grace, have no ground of complaint, since they are under no *necessity* of continuing in sin, or falling short of salvation, but might all in the exercise of their own capacities as moral agents, return to their allegiance and receive the mercy offered equally to all. The charges of fatalism, of making God a hard master, etc. which are so often urged against those who maintain the doctrines of grace, are therefore without foundation, and derive all their plausibility from the grossest misrepresentation.*

In no part of christendom has the contest between the friends and enemies of the doctrines of grace, been maintained with more spirit and determination, than in the church of England. But from

* See this subject discussed in our last No. Review of methodist doctrines.
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the time of Charles II. to the latter part of the last century, the doctrines of Arminius were generally prevalent in that communion, owing to the low state of public morals, the deadening influence of a religious establishment, and the natural tendencies of the human heart. Connected with these doctrines in the English church, we usually find what are denominated HIGH CHURCH PRINCIPLES. By these is meant, the assertion of some peculiar and mysterious efficacy in the ordinances performed by an episcopal priesthood. In the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for example, the communicant is brought near to his Savior in a manner, which no ardor of love or aspirations of faith, could in themselves secure. The infant presented at the baptismal font is instantly "born again in this regenerating ordinance," is "translated from a state of condemnation to a state of grace," and "obtains a *title* to the influences of the Holy Spirit, and the forgiveness of sins."^{*} According to these principles, too, where there is no prelatical bishop, there is nothing which can be acknowledged as a church of Christ, and no covenant or promise known to exist, of eternal life. The simple want of subjection to a prelatical priesthood, turns men over to the uncovenanted mercies of the heathen, with the accumulated guilt of rejecting the means which God has himself appointed for their salvation. The followers of the late Dr. Hobart unite with that gentleman in declaring, that "none *can* possess authority to administer the sacraments, but those who have received a commission from the bishops of the (Episcopal) Church"—that "great is the *guilt*, and imminent the *danger* of those, who negligently or wilfully continue in a state of separation from the authorized ministrations of the church, and participate of ordinances administered by an irregular and *invalid* authority; wilfully rending the peace and unity of the church, by separating from the administration of its authorized priesthood; obstinately contemning the means which God has prescribed for their salvation. They are guilty of *rebellion* against the Almighty Lawgiver and Judge: they expose themselves to the awful displeasure of that Almighty Jehovah, who will not suffer his institutions to be contemned, or his authority violated, with impunity."[†] Some high churchmen there are indeed, who do not

* Grant, the high church historian, states the doctrine thus. "This opinion supposes a charm, a secret virtue, by which, to state an extreme case, a vicious minister of the church of England can confer something *necessary to salvation*, as a sacrament is, while the same office performed by a pious sectary, who has in his heart devoted himself to God, is an absolute nullity." Yet, strange as it may seem, after stating the case thus strongly in the form of an objection, he declares that the fact is so. "Truth is sacred and immutable, and must be received, whatever inconveniences attend its reception." *Grant's English Church.* Vol. II. p. 7--8.

† Companion for the Altar, edition of 1814, pp. 198—200, 203—204. Since this article was written, we have looked into the last edition of this work, and

go the full length of these statements. They do not *positively* unchurch all other denominations, they only do it *negatively*. They will not *admit* any church but their own to exist: they see no *reason* whatever to believe it: they "are yet to *learn*," in the words of bishop Ravenscroft, "where a promise to fallen man is to be found, that is not *limited* on the previous condition, that he be a member of the visible (Episcopal) Church on earth." Now this negative exclusion—this refusal to acknowledge any other communion as a church of Christ—though not so presumptuous or offensive as the positive declarations of bolder men, amounts to precisely the same thing in all its *practical results*. He who *sees* no authority for the rites of other denominations, must act as if there were none; and in a matter which he deems of so much importance, must use all his endeavors to make others act so likewise. Indeed, with the final and perfect revelation of God's will in our hands, to say *we see no authority* for any church ordinances but our own, *we are yet to learn* where any promise is made except to those of our communion—what is it but to say in more modest terms, "*we do believe there is none?*" To make any nice distinctions between *un-belief* and *dis-belief*, in such a case, does seem to us extremely idle. It is a subject on which the scriptures are very far from being silent, on which all antiquity, if we may credit high churchmen, has spoken in the most decisive manner; and if with all these means of knowledge we *are yet to learn* where any covenant or promise for fallen man can be found, except within the boundaries of a single church, it is vain to hope that a coming eternity will disclose any thing but unmixed wrath, for those who, under all this light, have rejected the most sacred institutions of their Maker. Here, in a condition worse, we apprehend, than that of the heathen, the high churchman leaves thousands of protestant churches, which have been walking in faith and love from the time of the reformation to the present hour; while the church of Rome, that mother of abominations, is freely recognized as a part of Christ's mystical body, a pillar in the temple of the living God.*

find that some of these expressions have been altered in a manner to strike the mind less offensively, but no one, we suppose, will contend that Dr. Hobart ever changed his sentiments on this subject. We have here the plain exposition of his views as always maintained by him, and as now maintained by his followers; and we are therefore fully authorized to appeal to the statements quoted above. If there were reason to believe that in softening or generalizing the expressions, Dr. Hobart meant to give up any part of the ground taken, the case would be different. But this we presume, no one will say.

* "I do believe the church of Rome," says archbishop Laud, "to be a true church. Were she not a true church, it were hard with the church of England, since from her the English bishops derive their apostolic succession." "It is obvious from our acknowledging as valid the orders of its (the Roman Catholic church,) apostate clergy, that we have a still stronger affinity towards that

And so great is the importance attached to these sentiments, that candidates for holy orders as well in this country as in England, have actually been held back from ordination, for venturing to express the contrary opinion.

Far be it from us to intimate, however, that such are universally the sentiments of *Episcopalians*. The church of England, our readers are aware, has witnessed a gradual revival of religion, within the last thirty years. Among the most active promoters of this revival, were the two Milners, Dr. Scott, Mr. Wilberforce, Mrs. H. Moore, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Leigh Richmond, and the great body of writers, who were associated in support of the *Christian Observer*. To these persons, under God, the English church is indebted for nearly all the spiritual religion, which now exists within her ample boundaries; and for the share she has taken in those noble efforts of christian benevolence, the abolition of the slave trade, the establishment of bible, missionary, and tract societies, which are the glory of the present age. Actuated by such a spirit, it was impossible for them to lay any stress on outward rites and ordinances, as constituting an important part in a title to eternal life. They were, indeed, strongly attached, to their own modes of worship; many of them believed the Episcopal form of government to have prevailed in the primitive churches; and all were naturally desirous, that spiritual religion should be revived, not by the progress of dissent, but by restoring a decayed establishment to its earlier and better principles. With these views, while they labored to promote the cause of evangelical religion in their own church, they extended the hand of christian fellowship and affection to the pious of every communion. Mr. Gisborne for example, totally disclaims the *jure divino* principle; affirming that the apostles "left no command which rendered episcopacy universally indispensable in future ages." In like manner, the *Christian Observer*, (speaking undoubtedly for those of its own sentiments,) says, "Episcopalians found not the merits of their cause on any express injunction or delineation of church government in the scriptures, *for there is none.*" vol. iii. page 155.* Many there are in this country of the same principles, and with such we have no contention. It is nat-

church, than to other bodies of professing christians, who hold a doctrine nearly as pure as our own; thus making the form rather than the faith, the constituent and vital principle of a church." Such is admitted by Grant to be the high church sentiment. Vol. II. p. 7.

* One of the principal conductors of the *Christian Observer* remarked, not many years since, to one of the conductors of this work, "I have not for ten years seen the man who was so utterly foolish, as to claim any exclusive divine right for our ordination or ordinances, or who hesitated to acknowledge other communions as churches of Christ." The remark only shows perhaps how little the evangelical of that church, mingle with their opponents in their own church.

ural for men to feel a strong preference for the modes of worship in which they have been early educated. Their love for religion itself becomes in some degree identified with an attachment to the forms, with which it has always been associated. And if any who have been educated in *our* modes of worship, can find more spiritual improvement in substituting a liturgy for extemporaneous prayer, with all our hearts we bid them God speed in the change, while we utterly condemn the spirit, that even by a look would give them pain in making it. Feeling this, we feel likewise that we have a right to demand similar treatment from others. When, therefore, on public occasions, we hear the principles and institutions of our churches pointedly condemned as a departure from the ordinances established by Christ; when such sentiments are zealously inculcated in conversation and through the press, in almost every part of our country; when those who would wish to join our communion, are repressed with the most solemn admonitions, that they are departing from the appointed way of salvation; and when all this is associated with the severest reprobation of the doctrinal sentiments maintained in our churches, we think ourselves called upon, at times, to speak in our own defense, and to examine the principles of those who are thus unsparing in their condemnation of ours.

It is not our design, however, at present to inquire into the foundation of these high pretensions. Their utter futility has been too often demonstrated to call for any remarks from us. It is, indeed, a striking fact, that they have never been put down with a stronger hand, or trampled more triumphantly in the dust, than by Episcopal writers, especially by Bishop Stillingfleet and Sir Peter King. Leaving this part of the subject, therefore, in their hands, we shall offer some remarks of a more general nature, on the system of High Church and Arminian principles, more especially as maintained by the followers of Dr. Hobart.

I. This system, we conceive, is a *departure from the original principles of the Episcopal Church of England*, as established at the era of the reformation. In reference to ecclesiastical discipline, no historical fact is more certain than this, that all the reformed churches renounced the principle of any divine right of Episcopal ordination. As a single instance, we may mention the Smalcaldic Articles in 1533, which strenuously assert the identity of bishops and presbyters, and their equality by divine right, in the power of ordination. These were signed by nearly eight thousand ministers, among whom were Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, etc. To a similar effect was the declaration of the *Function* of the English Church about the same period, which states, that "in the new testament there is no mention of any degree or distinction of orders, but

only of *deacons* or ministers, and of *priests* or bishops."* This declaration was signed by thirty-seven distinguished civilians and divines, and by thirteen bishops. Nor was this subject, as some have insinuated, hastily decided on by the English reformers. On the contrary, it was regarded as one of the cardinal questions of the reformation, and was examined by them with great care and deliberation. It was one of a number of queries propounded to a large council of the most distinguished divines and bishops, under Henry VIII. As a specimen of the answers which were then given, we transcribe the following.

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both *one* office, in the beginning of Christ's religion."

Dr. Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely under Elizabeth. "By scripture (as Jerome saith) bishops and priests be *one*. Yet bishops as they are now, were *after* priests, and therefore *made* of priests."

Dr. Redman. "At the beginning, were both *one*—wherefore one made the other indifferently."†

To a similar effect were the decisions of Dr. Day, Dr. Edgeworth, The Bishop of London, and generally of the most distinguished friends of the reformation. Accordingly, these principles were embodied by the bishops in the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, which was approved by a vote of both houses of parliament in 1543, and prefaced with an epistle by the king himself. In this it is declared, that "priests and bishops are by God's law *one and the same*, and that the powers of ordination and excommunication belong equally to *both*." These were the principles of the English Church during the whole reign of Edward VI. Foreign churches were recognized by the reformers as in the fullest sense churches of Christ. A large number of foreign divines were invited by Cranmer from abroad to aid in the reformation, and were instantly employed in clerical duties without one hint of re-ordination.‡ On the restoration of the English church, on its present

* Burnet's Hist. of Ref. I. 321 fol.

† Burnet I. 223.

‡ Among these was the celebrated John Knox, who was chaplain to the king, and was sent also by the privy council to preach at Berwick, see Strype's Annals III 235. Martyn Bucer was another, who officiated, says Strype, "at St. Martins Cambridge do. do. II. 207. At the death of Bucer, a funeral sermon was preached by Parker, afterwards the most active in establishing the church on its present footing, as first archbishop under Elizabeth. In this sermon he terms Bucer a "chief master workman" placed there by God; and dwells with much feeling on the loss sustained by the church, and on the certain *happiness* to which Bucer had departed. Strype's life of Parker, 29. How little does all this look like *doubting* whether the "promises" of the gospel belong to those who are out of the Episcopal church!

footing, under Elizabeth, it was enacted by parliament 'that the ordination of foreign churches should be held valid, and that those who had no other orders, should be of like capacity with others to enjoy any place of ministry in England.'* That these were the sentiments of the clergy at this time, is most evident. "The first who solemnly appeared in vindication of the English hierarchy," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "was archbishop Whitgift, a sage and prudent person, whom we cannot suppose ignorant of the sense of the church of England, or afraid or unwilling to defend it. Yet he frequently against Cartwright asserts 'no form of church government is by the scriptures prescribed to, or commanded the church of God.' And so Dr. Cosins his chancellor, 'it cannot be proved that any certain particular form of church government, is commanded to us by the word of God.' Dr. Loe, 'no certain form of government is prescribed in the word.' Bishop Bridges, 'God hath not expressed the form of church government.' "They who are pleased but to consult the third book of the learned and judicious Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," adds Stillingfleet, "may see the *mutability* of church government, largely asserted and fully proved."† Iren: part II. c. vii. § 3.

The learned Whittaker too, professor of divinity in Cambridge at the same period, and who was chiefly employed in the controversy with the papists, declares as the doctrine of the reformed, (in his controversy with Bellarmin and Dureus) that "presbyters being by divine right the *same* as bishops, they might warrantably set other presbyters over the churches." It was on this ground, that speaking in behalf of the English Church, he defended the validity of ordination, as performed by Luther, Zuingle, Bucer, etc. Little did he or his associates imagine, that protestants would ever unite with papists, in calling that ordination in question. When this was first done by Dr. Brancroft, in his sermon at Paul's cross, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, it excited so much surprise, that Sir Frances Knolls wrote to Dr. John Reynolds one of the translators of the bible, and universally regarded as the most learn-

* Strype as quoted by Neal, 1. 366.

† The only attempt which we have ever heard of to evade these testimonies, is by saying that "church government" here, may not have referred to the different orders of clergy in the church, but merely to other ecclesiastical constitutions. But Stillingfleet, with the originals before him, did so understand them, and cited them to establish his position, that there is no unalterable divine right in the clergy. These declarations too, were made agaist Cartwright the puritan, who asserted the exclusive divine right of *presbyterian* ordination. Whitgift and the rest therefore, if they spoke to the point in debate, meant to deny what Cartwright maintained, viz. that the scriptures had laid down any one immutable constitution for the *orders* of the clergy, discipline, etc. of the church.

ed man of the age, for his opinion on this subject. Reynolds replied that ever Bellermin acknowledged the weakness of Dr. B's pretension. "It may be added" he says "that they who for five hundred years have been industrious in reforming the church, have thought, that all pastors, whether called bishops or presbyters, have according to the word of God *like* power and authority." He then appeals in confirmation of his statement, to the Waldenses, Wickliff and his followers, Huss and his disciples, Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger and Musculus; to many English bishops as Jewell, author with Cranmer of the articles and homilies, Pilkington and others; and to Bradford, Lambert, and many more of the early confessors of the English church. He adds, that this was the common doctrine of the reformed churches in Switzerland, Savoy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland. It was not until forty years after, in the time of Archbishop Laud, that these high church principles gained much footing in the English church, and even long after that, Stillingfleet says, "It is acknowledged by the stoutest champions of episcopacy, before these *late* unhappy divisions, that ordination performed by presbyters in case of necessity, is valid; which I have already shown doth evidently prove that episcopal government is not founded on any unalterable *divine right*."^{*}

It is equally certain, that Arminian principles, which are now commonly associated with High Church pretensions, were a total departure from the original doctrine of the English Church. In the year 1595, these principles were first preached in the University of Cambridge, by William Barret, fellow of Gonville and Caius College. So great was the offense given by his sermon to the heads of the colleges, that they resorted to measures of great severity on the subject. In reporting their proceedings to the Chancellor of the University, they say, "This sermon being so offensive to the church, and so strongly savoring of the leaven of *popery*, and contrary to the doctrine, nature, quality, and condition of faith, as set forth in the *articles* of religion, and *homilies* appointed to be read in churches, and that hath been taught *ever since her majesty's reign*, in sermons, and defended in public schools, and open commencements, without contradiction in the universities; we thought it meet to repress these *novelties* of doctrine by such means as our statutes do appoint." They then proceed to state the crime of Barret, viz. his "impudent challenging of Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, and others, of error in the doctrines of faith, in most bitter terms, *whom we never knew in our church heretofore, to be touched in that matter*." They therefore required

* Iren: part II. chap. viii. § 7.

of Barret a public recantation, which was accordingly made in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge. "He revoked what he had preached there *ad clerum*, according to the sense, which was afterwards called *Arminianism*, about predestination, faith, perseverance," etc. and added, "I do beseech you to pardon this my rashness, also that I uttered many bitter words against Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, Jerome Zanchius, Francis Junius, and the rest of the same religion, *being the lights and ornaments of our church.*"*

Nor is it wonderful that these novelties produced so much excitement, for during this reign the Institutes of Calvin, says Stapleton, "were so greatly esteemed in England, that the book hath been accurately translated into English, and even fixed in the parish churches for the people to read. Moreover in each of the universities, after the students have finished their circuit in philosophy, as many of them as are designed for the ministry, are lectured first of all on that book." Accordingly Heylen, the friend of Laud, and an avowed adversary of Calvinism, says of the reign of Elizabeth, under whom the English Church was settled on its present foundation, "Predestination and the points depending thereupon, were received as the established doctrines of the Church of England. It was safer for a man, in those days, to be looked upon as a heathen or publican, than an anti-Calvinist." *Life of Laud.*

That these were the principles of the early fathers of that church, during the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. is equally certain. Their choice of Peter Martyr and Bucer, (confessedly of the same sentiments with those of Calvin,) as the first professors of *theology* at Cambridge and Oxford, are the strongest possible demonstration of this fact. In their writings, too, we find the doctrine of election, of the saints perseverance and kindred points, continually insisted upon, as cardinal doctrines of the gospel. A few passages may suffice as specimens.

TINDAL. "God's elect cannot so fall that they rise not." "Paul teacheth God's predestination, whence it springeth altogether, whether we shall believe or not believe."†

CRANMER. "This article speaketh of the *elect*, in whom finally shall no fault be, but they shall *perpetually continue and endure.*" "We wretched sinners do not prevent God, or go before him in the

* See a full account of this transaction given by Dr. Scott, author of the *Commentary on the Bible*, in his remarks on Dr. Tolmin, Vol. II. p. 752.

† The reader will remark how careful the reformers were to cut off the evasion, afterwards resorted to by Arminians, viz. that men are elected or predestined on account of their *foreseen faith*. The very *existence* of faith itself, they state, is the thing contemplated in predestination. Men are chosen to be *made* believers, not because they *will* become believers.

work of our justification ; but it is God that layeth the *first* foundation of our salvation."

BRADFORD, the Martyr. " Faith is the *work* and *gift* of God, given to none other than those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath *predestinated* in Christ to eternal life."

JEWELL, one of the authors of the homilies and articles. "His election is *sure forever*: *ye shall not fall from grace*, *ye shall not perish.*"*

HOMILY for Whitsunday. " Man of his own nature is *sinful* and *disobedient*, *without one spark of goodness* in him, without any *virtuous* or *godly motion.*"*

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. " The elect may waver and be troubled, but they *cannot utterly be deceived and overcome.*"

Testimonies of this kind might be swelled to the size of volumes ; indeed they already fill six large octavo volumes, as collected by the Rev. Leigh Richmond, in his Fathers of the English Church, from which the above extracts are taken. No historical fact can be clearer than this, that the men, who in these latter days insist so strongly on High Church and Arminian principles, as the standard of churchmanship, are chargeable with a departure from the early principles of the Episcopal Church. In exposing what we deem their errors, therefore, we are not only defending ourselves against that spirit which unchurches every other denomination under heaven; but we are speaking in behalf of those in the Episcopal Church, who are reviled and persecuted, for adhering to the faith and catholic principles of CRANMER, LATIMER, JEWELL, and RIDLEY.

II. The tendency of High Church principles are, in our view, *hostile to the peculiar institutions of our country*. There is certainly nothing dangerous to a republican government, in the mere fact that clergymen are ordained by a bishop, rather than by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." If the power thus delegated is felt and acknowledged to be exercised as a matter of mere expediency, and is liable to be recalled when abused to evil purposes, we can see no possible objection to such a constitution of things, in any community which may think best to adopt it. But when this power is claimed by a few individuals, as centering in their persons by a *divine right*; and when our obedience to this power is demanded under the most awful penalties of God's displeasure, it is a serious question, what must be the consequences of yielding to such a claim.

* This Dr. Tolmin, the great Arminian authority of the day, directly contradicts. "We can by no means allow, that of our own nature we are *without any spark of goodness.*" And yet he has subscribed to the articles and is bound by the homilies.

Religious institutions and ordinances are indispensable to our social, civil, and national existence. Hence, we must have men set apart for religious purposes; and these men, from their station and employment, will exert on the public mind and morals a prodigious influence. But, on high church principles, what kind of men are they? Just such as a small number of bishops may please to commission and send among us. The newly appointed prelate of New-York, for example, holds directly from God himself, the only power which is known or can be acknowledged, of commissioning the ministers of the gospel for nearly two millions of souls. No one can be recognized, in this immense multitude of rational and immortal beings, as authorized to engage in the ministry of reconciliation, in any way, or under any ecclesiastical regulations, until he has gone to that gentleman, subscribed the articles of *his* faith, and taken from *his* hands, as the delegated agent of God, the power to preach the gospel of his Son! Every minister within a territory as large as all New-England, on whose head the hands of a bishop have not been laid, must at once leave his people, repair to the altar of prescription, or never again presume to preach the love of God, or break the bread of life. What a scene would be opened in this country by high church principles, carried out into full operation, as they unquestionably ought to be, if resting on the authority of God! The whole body of our ten thousand clergy, with the exception of less than six hundred, thrown out of the sacred office forever, unless their consciences and their faith could be made to quadrate with the standard set up by a small body of men among us! What man on this continent would possess any thing like the power of an American bishop? What power is so controlling as religious supremacy—what grasp so unyielding as that of individual authority, rendered fearless by popular submission, and awful as death by the presumed appointment of God? Such must inevitably be the power of those who hold the only authority known or believed to exist, of commissioning the ministers of religion for twelve millions of people—of saying who shall, and who shall not, preach the gospel of Christ. And how shall the body of the people resist the abuse of this power to the worst of purposes? Shall they withdraw from the church, like our puritan fathers, and seek religious liberty under the protection of our free institutions? But this is “rebellion against Almighty God;” or at least there is the utmost reason to believe so, and none to believe otherwise. It cuts off the soul, at once, from all known covenant-ed title or hope of eternal life; and, as we are now supposing the whole community to be fully enlightened on this subject, no one can be weak enough to sacrifice the salvation of his soul, for the poor recompense of maintaining his rights as a freeman. Let high

church principles be universally embraced in this country, (as they ought to be if they are correct) and we have at once an ESTABLISHED CHURCH, resting not on the weak basis of human enactments, but on the immutable command of God himself. For the clergy of this church, we are bound in conscience, and by divine injunction, to provide a full and honorable support. "Let him that is taught in the word, communicate with him that teacheth in all good things." This support must all go to such religious teachers as a small body of bishops, think proper to appoint and ordain. The people have no option in the case but this, they may arrange among themselves how to *dispose*, in the most satisfactory manner, of the individuals whom the bishop shall designate for the care of their souls.

The power of the men thus designated, too, is tremendously great. It lies with them to administer or withhold those sacraments, which, in the words of the High Church historian, "are necessary to salvation." It is madness to hesitate for a moment in yielding implicit obedience to those who have the awful prerogative of granting or withholding a "covenant title" to eternal life; or to array ourselves in "rebellion" against our Maker, by refusing to receive the rites of his religion, on those conditions, which his "regularly ordained clergy" may think proper to prescribe. But what will be the consequence of such power in the clergy. Unless we shut our eyes on all the past history of our race, and suppose that God has conferred an absolute *infallibility* on the priesthood which he has placed over us, with such awful sanctions to enforce our obedience, we know and are certain, that this authority will be abused, in a manner totally inconsistent with our rights and privileges as freemen.

And who is ignorant of the practical operation of high church principles, where they have acted without restraint? What principles created and supported the court of High Commission? Who advocated the arbitrary measures of the house of Stuart? "Who opposed the glorious revolution of 1688?" "And who were the enemies of our own *more* glorious revolution?" "*High churchmen, the world knows.*" In the language of one of the ablest men of our age, we declare, "on the other hand, in all these instances, low churchmen and dissenters, united heartily and co-operated vigorously." "The faithful records of history afford on this subject, a series of most instructive facts, and warrant the strongest conclusions as to the tendency of high church principles."

A bishop in this country, has it in his power to a great extent, to secure the prevalence and succession of his own sentiments and practices, whatever they may be; for he appoints the clergy of his diocese, and they are such and only such, in sentiment and character, as he is pleased to commission. These are the men, who with associated laymen of their own vestries, are to elect a

successor to him, who has thus created *them*. It is not difficult, to see how certain this succession may be made, and how long the influence of error and religious intolerance may be perpetuated. And now, we ask, have not power and influence established by these means, been already exerted in this country, with very great and unsparing effect? Have not the noblest designs of christian charity, the exalted enterprise of giving the bible to every family in our land, the most generous efforts for the instruction of oppressed christian nations, or of the heathen world "lying in wickedness," been repeatedly shut out from nearly the whole of a diocese, by a single word. 'The BISHOP does not approve of these efforts, he thinks it improper for any one to solicit our aid for such objects?' A hundred churches are instantly closed, and ten thousand hearts are steeled against those men, who are pleading perhaps for those very charities, which originated in the zeal and piety of the evangelical of the English church. We call in question no man's motives. We undertake not to decide whether any individual has acted right or wrong, in the exercise of the power thus assumed. But we do ask, must not that *system* be wrong, hostile to our liberal institutions, and pernicious to the interests of true religion, which thus tends to place the consciences of a whole diocese under the control of a single man, and to make our religious charities, the noblest characteristic of the present age, dependent on his will? "Religious principles will be felt every where. No circle of private life, no department of government, but must feel them. They belong to the mind itself." What then must be the effect on freedom of mind among us, on the exercise of private judgment, and above all on the rights of conscience, if such a system should ever become predominant in this country. The history of the world gives but one answer.

While, therefore, we see nothing hostile to our free institutions in the catholic spirit of those, who acknowledge every other evangelical communion to be equally with themselves a part of the church of Christ, we do believe that nothing but a standing miracle could save us from the consequences of a general prevalence of High Church principles; giving as they do to a few men, chosen for life, the only known power on earth of commissioning our ten thousand clergy, and cloathing that clergy with the awful prerogative of granting or withholding these sacred ordinances, without which there is no known covenant of mercy, or promise of eternal life. If this be truth, and if these principles must generally prevail among us, we can only say, that the less must yield to the greater, the freedom of our country to the salvation of our souls.

III. *The conditions of salvation*, as laid down by the high church writers, are in our view, (and with pain we say it) *diametrically opposed to the declarations of the word of God*. The scriptures di-

vide the whole human race into two great classes, those who are in a state of condemnation, and those who are in a state of grace or favor with God. The former are described as "children of wrath," the latter as "children of God;" the one as "alienated and enemies in their minds by wicked works," the other as "reconciled" to God, and members of Christ's body; the one as "having no hope, and without God in the world," the other as "partakers of the promises," and made "heirs of the kingdom" of his dear Son. The most important question, then, which can be asked on this side of the eternal world, is this, What is that change in man, which translates him from a state of condemnation into a state of grace or favor with God? The followers of Dr. Hobart answer, BAPTISM: and in this sentiment we suppose most high churchmen coincide. "In this regenerating ordinance (baptism) fallen man is born again from a state of *condemnation* into a state of *grace*."^{*} "Our church," says Dr. Hobart in his volume of sermons, "in all her services, considers *baptized* christians (i. e. baptized persons) as regenerate; as called into a *state of salvation*; as made *members* of Christ; *children* of God; *heirs* to the kingdom of heaven." Now, we ask, is it possible to affirm more strongly, that the simple act of baptism *prepares the soul for heaven*? It makes its subjects "heirs of the kingdom," "children of God," "in a *state of grace or salvation*." True, they must continue in this state, must go on to repent of sin when committed, and to put their trust in Christ, to the end of life. But that great change in their character and condition, without which no man can see the Lord, is effected by baptism! This makes them in a moment "children of God," and should any individual among them die at that moment, he must of course be saved. Now, we ask, is this the doctrine of the New Testament? Can the act of a fallible man thus remove the condemning sentence of God, and secure the salvation of the soul? The supposition, all will agree, is impious, unless the renewing influence of the Spirit, does *invariably* attend the administration of the ordinance of baptism. But where in the whole bible have we any intimation of such a fact? What too, is the testimony of experience on this subject? Do all baptized persons in the Episcopal church give evidence of that great spiritual change, which is so entire and absolute, as to be termed "*life from the dead?*" Are they without exception crucified to the world, and the world crucified to them? The utmost stretch of charity will not authorize the supposition.

The apostles too—did they act like men who believed the rite of baptism to be invariably followed by deliverance from condem-

* Comp. for the Altar. p. 186.

nation, and the renewal of the heart from on high? Why, then, all their labors, reasonings, exhortations, and entreaties to bring their hearers to Christ, when they had only to baptize them at once: and by "this regenerating ordinance," instantly to place them in a "state of salvation?" No! In all the directions which the Apostles gave to sinners, as recorded in the Acts, baptism is never alluded to but once, and then as *following*, not leading to faith in Christ. This outward rite they uniformly represented as the mere *symbol* of a spiritual change which was supposed *already* to have taken place.*

"Can any man forbid water," says Peter, "that these should not be baptized?" But why baptize these men? To place them in a "state of grace"—to give them "a title to the influences of the Holy Spirit?" No, but because they "have received the HOLY GHOST as well as we." Acts x. 47. How could the Apostle more directly contradict the high church principles? Considered in this light, as a mere *symbol* of a change already experienced, it is not surprising that so little stress was laid on baptism by the apostles. "Christ," says Paul, "sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." How different would have been his language if he ever imagined, that baptism was invariably followed by renewing influences from on high! Regarded in this light, the power of administering it, is the most awful and momentous prerogative ever conferred on man. Armed with such power, the apostle had only to persuade men to receive the washing of water at his hands, and they were instantly converted, made "children of God," and "heirs of the kingdom."

But these pretensions reach still farther. The followers of Dr. Hobart declare, that "the *only* mode through which we can obtain a title to those blessings (of the gospel) is the sacrament of baptism." "Repentance, faith and obedience, will not of *themselves* be effectual to our salvation." Other high churchmen know and believe nothing to the *contrary* of this, and the practical effect therefore is precisely the same. Now here too, we apprehend, is if possible a still more direct contradiction of the word of God. "REPENT, that your sins *may* be blotted out." "Thy FAITH hath saved thee." "BELIEVE on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou *shalt* be saved." "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to *every one* that believeth." "In every nation, he that feareth Him, (God,) and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him." Such are the conditions of salvation as pointed out in the scriptures. Not one word is said of Baptism as indispensable to salvation, and as if

* Children were baptized on the ground of their parent's faith. In this they solemnly *dedicated* their children to God, and gained for them the privilege of a relation to the visible church.

to silence all pretensions of this kind, in a single sentence, God has added, "Circumcision (to which baptism succeeds as a different form of the same rite,) is *nothing*, and *un-circumcision* is *nothing*, but a NEW CREATURE;" proving demonstrably, that the new birth is not only something entirely distinct from any outward rites, but wholly independent of them. Such are the contradictions to the word of God involved in the sentiments in question!

IV. We would now turn, for a moment, to consider the influence of such doctrines, *on the spiritual state of those who are educated in their belief*. Nothing can be more certain than this, that all the scriptural representations of the condition and character of men by nature, are deeply humbling and painful. Their direct tendency is to alarm the sinner, to lay him low in the dust before God, and to drive him to utter despair of relief from any human intervention or aid. They urge him to instantaneous and unreserved submission to God. Even in the most distinguished saints, we see the evidence of this humbling tendency. "I abhor myself," says Job, "and repent in dust and ashes." "I was shapen in iniquity," says the psalmist, "and in sin did my mother conceive me." "Oh, wretched man that I am," exclaimed Paul, in the view of the deep depravity of his heart. Now we ask, is there not the utmost danger, that impenitent sinners, under the influence of the sentiments in question, will fall entirely short of any such views of their character and condition? Is there no one whose eye now rests on these pages, to whom the language just quoted from the scriptures, seems strange and unaccountable? Is it not the tendency of the views in which multitudes are educated, to make them believe that their depravity is trifling, since it requires only such easy expedients to remove it? Do they not feel that it is removed, and its curse avoided by the simple reception of ordinances—that they have only to be baptized, confirmed, and to continue in the observance of stated rites, and they are regenerated, their sins washed away, and themselves made children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven? They enter on a course of religious duty; they have been made christians by baptism; they observe the services of the church;—they hold a constituent part in divine worship;—all along with which, they are told, the grace of God is connected, and that by it, they are cultivating their good feelings or religious natures—"nourishing that grace which is given to every man to profit withal." At length they are confirmed, at which time, it is announced to them, that the Holy Ghost is imparted, and as they rise from the rite of confirmation, they are saluted as "children of the kingdom and heirs of heaven." Having taken on themselves the vows of their godfathers and godmothers, and received the last ordinance of consecration from one professedly delegated to open the kingdom of heaven, they are re-assured of "a title to all the privileges and blessings of Christ's purchase."

Now what is the influence of all this on the unsuspecting disciples of this system? Do they not imagine that they are sure of salvation, if they simply persevere in the course on which they have thus entered? As they have been baptized, they think of course, and they are taught to believe so, that they "*have a title to the kingdom of heaven.*" Every repetition of prescribed devotional service, becomes an advancing step in their sanctification. The responses and observances of the sanctuary, rise every sabbath, as additional securities of God's favor—to be acknowledged at the day of judgment, as preparing a soul of his own new creation, for his endless service. The writer of these remarks, has had too much experience in this kind of service and in these sentiments, not to be fully persuaded of the certainty and baneful effects of this influence. A righteousness was created in his soul, which was neither borrowed from the Redeemer's merits, nor purified by the Holy Spirit. It was a righteousness wrought out by the simple and easy service of church prescription. Here he rested his hope; and was told on authority which he had no wish to question, that while repentance, faith and obedience, will not of themselves be effectual to this salvation, this is "the mode" and the "only mode" of securing a "title to the blessings and privileges of Christ's purchase." Who under the belief of such a system, would not feel sure of salvation, in proportion to the multiplication of prescribed ordinances? If pressed with the necessity of a spiritual regeneration, their answer is ready, "It has already commenced, and we are advancing cheerfully forward to its full completion." How is it possible for such persons to listen with any but indignant feelings, to pointed statements of their guilt and danger as sinners? What necessity can there be, in their view, of any of that violence spoken of in the scriptures, with which men are to press into the kingdom of heaven? Where is the need of that armor of Paul, the panoply of God, to meet and conquer the powers of hell? Such things they are prone to consider as belonging to a different state of the church, and as having no just or natural application to themselves. We appeal to every man who has preached to such persons, with a seriousness and pungency borrowed from the word of God, whether he has not found his instructions fall utterly powerless on their minds? and whether the whole tendency of this system, is not to lock up the soul in a state of dreadful insensibility to their real condition, in the view of Him who searcheth the heart?

We do not wish to say it invidiously, but we are utterly unable to discover how the thorough going High Church doctrine on this subject, differs from that of the Papists. An exclusive divine right to confer a "title to salvation," is claimed equally by both. It is the *opus operatum*, the outward act, which in the view of both secures

this title. "There is no salvation out of the Catholic church," is the axiom of the one ; and we find much the same in the declarations, "Baptism is the *only* mode," etc. and, "I have yet to learn where a *promise* to fallen man is to be found, that is not *limited* on the previous condition, that he be a member of the visible (i. e. Episcopal church upon earth.)" We have no disposition to run the parallel farther. It is with pain that we have alluded at all, to these remains of the "old doctrine" amongst any members of a venerable protestant church.

We now turn to consider the influence of Arminianism, under the sanction, and in connection with the usages, of the high church. The Arminian system has an endless diversity of appearances and numberless varieties of influence. As Mosheim justly remarks, "it is a kind of medley, which can have no fixed and stable form or system of doctrine." Its ramifications are ever springing forth, fresh and vigorous; and it is impossible to specify all these results, which rise, in some form or other from this fruitful system of protean theology. We shall therefore only say, that *the opinions and practices under review, seem to us to destroy that broad distinction between sin and holiness, the righteous and the wicked, which enters so deeply into man's present character and future prospects.* Their advocates address their hearers alike ; presupposing in all, that infusion of grace or principle of moral goodness, which only requires a careful cultivation in all, to ripen to the full maturity of holiness. They do not admit that there is any *radical* distinction among men, which has been created by a change of their moral natures. They are not accustomed therefore, to bring home the searching truths of inspiration, and lay them, with the authority of the Almighty upon the consciences of men ; and we are not aware, that the preaching of this class of divines is calculated to disturb the conscience of the sinner, or to create a belief in that *plague of the heart*, which God pronounces to be *desperate wickedness*. All men are supposed to have some goodness from the beginning, and are all along treated as the gospel treats those only, who are new creatures in Christ Jesus. "The preachers of this school," says the Christian Observer, "address their auditors almost promiscuously as christians, because professedly and by the sacrament of baptism they are such. Our view, on the other hand, is, that a large portion of them, are not christians, except in name ; and should, therefore be addressed, not merely as needing to be exhorted to higher advances in goodness and virtue; but to *become* christians in the spiritual sense of the term." These remarks were called forth by the following passage in a work under review. "*No limit* can be prescribed to all persons, beyond which, indulgence in pleasure is sinful. The variety in the constitution of human character, and the difference of strength in the passions of different individuals, pla-

ces at different degrees, the point, where indulgence becomes sinful." Well does the Christian Observer add. "We are alarmed at the oversight, that gave birth to this passage and the consequences to which it might lead, especially in the volume in which it appears. We see nothing in all the bible warranting allowance in pleasure, (we know not of what kind) according to the strength of passion in different individuals."*

To what does this want of discrimination in preaching directly lead? As it arises from a want of discrimination in regard to truth and religious experience, it leads to a want of discrimination in respect to christian character and communion. It is saying to all, except those who are too grossly wicked to believe it, that they are christians. Is it not a fact indeed, that most of the congregation are, at some period of their lives, invited and urged to partake of those ordinances, which are the divinely appointed seals of experimental piety? And thus, under a fatal delusion, how many indulge in those pleasures of life which the gospel forbids, and in a conformity to the world, wholly inconsistent with the piety it enjoins! We know, that the preachers of whom we now speak, sometimes allude to a future and endless retribution of misery. But surely the heirs of the kingdom of heaven," "the children of God," cannot consider themselves as exposed to such a doom. Such are the accustomed addresses and instructions of these preachers, that few, if any, are found sufficiently depraved, within the circle of their ministrations, to feel that they deserve such tremendous punishment, as any evil must be, that is eternal. If we mistake not, their congregations as a body, feel as one common family, moving on together, under the saving culture of their religious services, and the favor of God, with the assurance of his everlasting complacency.

It is a belief in native grace, or a remnant of moral goodness in the heart, together with the supposed efficacy attached to baptism, which leads to this indiscriminate treatment of the mixed multitudes of a worshipping assembly. And this of necessity destroys the scriptural distinction between the righteous and the wicked; for it will be remembered, that most, if not all, have adopted "*the mode*" and "*the only mode*" of securing "*a title* to the blessings and privileges of Christ's purchase," and have those native and nurtured principles of resemblance to God, which are to expand into the perfection of holiness. How natural is it, that a confidence and hope should thus be engendered, which rest not on a distinct sense of a union of soul to Christ, not on a feeling of unreserved submission to the law and government of God, against whom

* Review of Bishop Hobart's Sermons.

we were conscious of having stood forth in the attitude of rebellion, but on a hope built upon man's native and cherished fitness for God's eternal presence and favor, which at once sweeps away the fear of eternal wrath, from every soul that has been brought under the protection of High Church ordinances. It is owing to this fact, we conceive, that Unitarianism has always made so little progress, in a community where High Church and Arminian principles, are prevalent. There is no *demand* for Unitarianism in such a community. Are any offended with that kind of preaching which shows man his utterly depraved and ruined condition, and which sends him for relief to an almighty Savior? they can find a refuge from such humbling and painful admonitions, under the soothing messages of those, who treat all their hearers as made "heirs of God" in baptism, and as needing only the steady culture of inherent grace, to prepare the soul for heaven. It is not, to any great extent, the speculative question of the Trinity, which makes men Unitarians: it is a settled disgust for the doctrine of man's entire want of holiness by nature, and his dependence on special and distinguishing grace for the renewal of the heart. Where these doctrines can be escaped on easier terms, few will find any inducement to become followers of Arius or Socinus.

We have already intimated, that the foregoing remarks are applicable not to the Episcopal church *as such*, but to a portion of its members who have departed from the catholic principles, and self-abasing doctrines, of its original founders. Concerning this defection, many of the most pious and devoted members of that church, both in England and America, have publicly spoken in terms far stronger than any which we have used. Believing the principles in question to be unscriptural and dangerous, we cannot be expected to see them urged industriously on those of our own communion, without occasionally expressing our sentiments. But the present remarks, prepared as they were originally some months since, and at quite a distance, have no reference to any recent events or discussions, in the vicinity of their publication. They were made, we are well assured, with feelings of entire kindness towards those from whom the writer differs. It is against principles, and not men, that he has spoken; and our earnest prayer is, that all parties, on this subject, may feel with the excellent Hooker, that "ten words spoken in the spirit of meekness, are better than volumes of controversy."

The remarks of PROTESTANT or reply to the Biblical Repertory, are necessarily deferred to our next number.

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